PIGS' MEAT;

OR,

LESSONS

FOR THE

SWINISH MULTITUDE.

PUBLISHED IN WEEKLY PENNY NUMBERS,

Collected by the Poor Man's Advocate (an old Veteran in the Cause of Freedom) in the Course of his Reading for more than Twenty Years.

INTENDED

To promote among the Labouring Part of Mankind proper Ideas of their Situation, of their Importance, and of their Rights.

AND TO CONVINCE THEM

That their forlorn Condition has not been entirely overlooked and forgotten, nor their just Cause unpleaded, neither by their Maker, nor by the best and most enlightened of Men in all Ages.

For the Needy shall not alway be forgotten: the Expectation of the Poor shall not perish for ever.

PSALM ix. ver. 18.

The Heaven, even the Heavens are the Lords: but the Earth hath he given to the Children of Men.

PSALM cxv. ver. 16.

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Wherefore ſeeing we —— are compaſſed about with ſo great a cloud of witneſſes, let us lay aſide every weight, —— and let us run with patience the race that is ſet before us. HEB. xii. ver. 1.

ALTERATION.

NO longer loſt in ſhades of night,
Where late in chains we lay!
The ſun ariſes, and his light
Diſpels our gloom away.

No longer blind, and prone to lye
In ſlavery profound;
But for redreſs aloud we cry!
And Tyrants hear the ſound.

The pomp of Courts *no more* engage;
The *magic ſpell* is *broke*;
We hail the bright reforming age!
And *caſt away* the *yoke*.

Our *ſubſtance* and our *blood* no more
So tamely ſhall we yield;
Nor quit like ſlaves our *native* ſhore
To *deck* the MONSTER's field.

The *rotten lumber* of the land,
The *courtly-penſion'd train*;
Shall hear their ſentence and diſband,
As we our Rights regain.

The mitred villain as he rolls
In luxury and luſt,
He blinds and robs the ſilly ſouls
Committed to his truſt.

Amus'd no more with empty lies,
Of bliſs we *never* knew;
The traitors loſe the ſtate diſguiſe,
And cloſely we purſue.

THE

THE RIGHT AND CAPACITY OF THE PEOPLE TO JUDGE OF GOVERNMENT.

From CATO'S LETTERS.

HONESTY and plainneſs go together, and the makers and multipliers of myſteries, in the political way, are ſhrewdly to be ſuſpected of dark deſigns. *Cincinatus* was taken from the plough to ſave and defend the *Roman* State; an office which he executed honeſtly and ſucceſsfully, without the grimace and gains of a ſtateſman. Nor did he afterwards continue obſtinately at the head of affairs, to form a party, raiſe a fortune, and ſettle himſelf in power: As he came into it with univerſal conſent, he reſigned it with univerſal applauſe.

It ſeems that government was not in thoſe days become a trade, at leaſt a gainful trade—honeſt *Cincinatus* was but a farmer: and happy had it been for the *Romans*, if, when they were enſlaved, they could have taken the adminiſtration out of the hands of the emperors, and their refined politicians, and committed it to ſuch farmers, or any farmers. It is certain, that many of their imperial governors acted more ridiculouſly than a board of ploughmen would have done, and more barbarouſly than a club of butchers could have done.

But ſome have ſaid, *it is not the buſineſs of private men to meddle with government.* A bold, falſe, and diſhoneſt ſaying; and whoever ſay it, either knows not what he ſays, or cares not, or ſlaviſhly ſpeaks the ſenſe of others. It is a cant now almoſt forgot in England, and which never prevailed but when liberty and the conſtitution were attacked, and never can prevail but upon the like occaſion.

It is a vexation to be obliged to anſwer nonſenſe, and confute abſurdities: but ſince it is and has been the great deſign of this paper to maintain and explain the

glorious principles of liberty, and to expoſe the arts of thoſe who would darken or deſtroy them; I ſhall here particularly ſhew the wickedneſs and ſtupidity of the above ſaying; which is fit to come from no mouth but that of a tyrant, or a ſlave, and can never be heard by any man of an honeſt and free ſoul without horror and indignation: It is, in ſhort a ſaying, which ought to render the man, who utters it for ever incapable of place or credit in a free country, as it ſhews the malignity of his heart, and the baſeneſs of his nature, and as it is the pronouncing of a doom upon our conſtitution—a crime, or rather a complication of crimes, for which a laſting infamy ought to be but part of the puniſhment.

But to the falſhood of the thing: Public truths ought never to be kept ſecrets; and they who do it, are guilty of a ſoleciſm, and a contradiction: Every man ought to know what it concerns all to know. Now, nothing upon earth is of a more univerſal nature than government; and every private man upon earth has a concern in it, becauſe in it is concerned, and nearly and immediately concerned, his virtue, his property, and the ſecurity of his perſon: And where all theſe are beſt preſerved and advanced, the government is beſt adminiſtred; and where they are not, the government is impotent, wicked or unfortunate; and where the government is ſo, the people will be ſo, there being always and every where a certain ſympathy and analogy between the nature of the government and the nature of the people. This holds true in every inſtance. Public men are the patterns of private; and the virtues and vices of the governors become quickly the virtues and vices of the governed.

Nor is it example alone that does it. Ill governments, ſubſiſting by vice and rapine, are jealous of private virtue, and enemies to private property. They muſt be wicked and miſchievous to be what they are; nor are they ſecure while any thing good

and

and valuable is ſecure. Hence it is, that to drain, worry, and debauch their ſubjects, are the ſteady maxims of their politics, their favourite arts of reigning. In this wretched ſituation, the people, to be ſafe, muſt be poor and lewd: there will be but little induſtry, where property is precarious; ſmall honeſty, where virtue is daugerous.

Profuſeneſs, or frugality, and the like virtues or vices, which affect the public, will be practiſed in the city, if they be practiſed in the court; and in the country, if they be in the city. Even *Nero* (that royal monſter in man's ſhape) was adored by the common herd at *Rome*, as much as he was flattered by the great; and both the little and the great admired, or pretended to admire his manners, and many to imitate them. *Tacitus* tells us, that thoſe ſort of people long lamented him, and rejoiced in the choice of a ſucceſſor that reſembled him, even the profligate *Otho*.

Good government does, on the contrary, produce great virtue, much happineſs, and many people. *Greece* and *Italy*, while they continued free, were each of them, for the number of inhabitants, like one continued city; for virtue, knowledge, and great men, they were the ſtandards of the world; and that age and country that could come neareſt to them, has ever ſince been reckoned the happieſt. Their government, their free government, was the root of all theſe advantages, and of all this felicity and renown; and in theſe great and fortunate ſtates, the people were the principals in the government; laws were made by their judgment and authority, and by their voice and commands were magiſtrates made and condemned. The city of *Rome* could conquer the world; nor could the great *Perſian* Monarch, the greateſt then upon earth, ſtand before the face of one *Greek* City.

But what are *Greece* and *Italy* now? *Rome* has in it a herd of pampered monks, and a few ſtarving lay

inhabitants; the *Campania* of *Rome*, the fineſt ſpot of earth in *Europe*, is a deſart. And for the modern *Greeks*, they are a few abject contemptible ſlaves, kept under ignorance, chains, and vileneſs, by the *Turkiſh* Monarch, who keeps a great part of the globe intenſely miſerable, that he may ſeem great without being ſo.

Such is the difference between one government and another, and of ſuch important concernment is the nature and adminiſtration of government to a people. And to ſay that private men have nothing to do with government, is to ſay that private men have nothing to do with their own happineſs and miſery.

One man, or a few men, have often pretended the public, and meant themſelves, and conſulted their own perſonal intereſt, in inſtances eſſential to its well-being; but the whole people, by conſulting their own intereſt, conſult the public, and act for the public by acting for themſelves: this is particularly the ſpirit of our conſtitution, in which the whole nation is repreſented; and our records afford inſtances, where the houſe of commons have declined entering upon a queſtion of importance, till they had gone into the country, and conſulted their principles, the people: ſo far were they from thinking that private men had no right to meddle with government. In truth, our whole worldly happineſs and miſery (abating for accidents and diſeaſes) are owing to the order and miſmanagement of government; and he who ſays that private men have no concern with government, does wiſely and modeſtly tell us, that men have no concern in that which concerns them moſt; it is ſaying that people ought not to concern themſelves whether they be naked or clothed, fed or ſtarved, deceived or inſtructed, and whether they be protected or deſtroyed: What nonſenſe and ſervitude in a *free* and *wiſe* nation!

For

For myſelf, who have thought pretty much on theſe matters, I am of opinion that a whole nation are like to be as much attached to themſelves, as one man or a few men are like to be, who may by many means be detached from the intereſt of a nation. It is certain that one man, and ſeveral men, may be bribed into an intereſt, oppoſite to that of the public; but it is as certain, that a whole country can never find an equivalent for itſelf, and conſequently *a whole country can never be bribed*. It is the eternal intereſt of every nation, that their government ſhould be good; but they who direct it, frequently reaſon a contrary way, and find their own account in plunder and oppreſſion; and while the public voice is pretended to be declared, by one or a few, for vile and private ends, the public knows nothing what is done, till they feel the terrible effects of it.

By the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement at the *Revolution*, a right is aſſerted to the people of applying to the King and to the parliament by petition and addreſs, for a redreſs of public grievances and miſmanagements, when ſuch there are, of which They are left to judge: and the difference between free and enſlaved countries lies principally here, that in the former, their magiſtrates muſt conſult the voice and intereſt of the people; but in the latter, the private will, intereſt, and pleaſure of the governors, are the ſole end and motives of their adminiſtration.

Such is the difference between *England* and *Turky*; which difference, they who ſay that private men have no right to concern themſelves with government, would abſolutely deſtroy; they would convert magiſtrates into baſhaws, and introduce popery into politics. The late revolution ſtands upon the very oppoſite maxim; and that any man dares to contradict it ſince the *Revolution*, would be amazing, did we not know that there are, in every country, hirelings who would betray it for a ſop.

A DREAM,

A DREAM,

REQUIRING NO INTERPRETER.

Were I, who to my coſt already am,
One of thoſe ſtrange prodigious creatures man,
A ſpirit free to chuſe for my own ſhare
What caſe of fleſh and blood I'd pleaſe to wear,
I'd be a dog, a monkey, or a bear;
Or any thing, but that vain animal,
Who is ſo proud of being rational!!!!!! ROCH.

To the PRINTER *of the* SHEFFIELD REGISTER.

SIR,

HOW diſguſting is a ſtate of ſociety, when we obſerve men either tearing one another in pieces by violence; or taking every unjuſt means to undermine each other by cunning and treachery, each acts as if his *only* aim were the total extirpation of his ſpecies! how ſhocking the idea! that of all the animals ſcattered over this vaſt globe, man is the moſt ferocious.

Seldom or never do we ſee the moſt ſavage animals wage war with thoſe of the ſame kind: that is a refinement in cruelty of which man only is capable. What a misfortune, that the ſocial ſtate to which man is from nature prone, and which in its own nature is adapted ro give us the compleateſt happineſs this life is capable of, ſhould be ſo uncomfortable, and fail ſo often of its deſigned effects!—But what elſe is to be expected, while people are ſo unwiſe in their choice of thoſe who are to be the protectors of ſociety: expecting happineſs from the management of thoſe incapable of giving it?—how oft do we ſee thoſe inhuman *monſters* no ſooner in power, than, merely to ſatisfy their ambition, madly hurry

hurry mankind into all the horrors of deſolating war: ſeeming eager to deſtroy that ſociety they but a few months before, (nay, perhaps but a few days) ſwore to be the guardian of.—Theſe ſerious reflections having a few nights ago taken poſſeſſion of my mind before going to ſleep, raiſed in my imagination the following dream.

Methought I was tranſported to a large plain, green, flowery, and watered with innumerable rivulets; whoſe gentle murmurs formed an agreeable concert with the ſweet notes of ſongſters which fluttered upon their verdant banks.—The inhabitants of this delightful place were divided into a number of different ſocieties; each governed by its own particular monarch.—As I was walking among them, obſerving their manners and cuſtoms, which I found were quite different, notwithſtanding their near connection; between ſome only a ſlight barrier; others had even but ſmall rivulets to fix their boundaries. I was much ſurpriſed to ſee them conſtantly wrangling and engaged in quarrels; ſometimes for the leaſt trifle; ſuch as the *ducks* of one diſtrict ſwimming in a *pool* belonging to another: or perhaps to ſatisfy the fooliſh caprice of ſome of the *great men*—for in each ſociety was a great number who were called *Satellites* of their reſpective crowns; who, as other ſecondary planets derive their luſtre from ſome primary planet, ſo they received their authority from the crown, and diſpenſed it to the people without the leaſt diminution. I was equally ſurpriſed at the *audacity* of the one, and the *paſſive* obedience of the other. But my wonder ſomewhat abated when I ſaw their different manner of handling a controverſy: the multitude wholly unacquainted with the wiles of logic, had nothing to ſupport their cauſe but a parcel of phraſes and words now entirely obſolete; ſuch as *reaſon*, *humanity*, and *juſtice*, with a long liſt of antiquated etceteras: whereas, on the other ſide, the *monarchs* and their *jackalls* had a notable way of arguing, namely,

namely, by *torture*, *whips*, *racks*, *gibbets*, *gallies*, *dungeons*, and many other ſyllogiſms of the ſame kind. This manner of *perſuaſion*, or rather *compulſion*, may properly be called the *logic of tyrants*. Pain they maintained was much better for clearing the underſtanding than reaſon; the latter actuating but ſlowly, whilſt the other was almoſt inſtantaneous. Having walked a little further, I gained a ſmall ſpot entirely ſurrounded by water: here, thought I, *Peace* muſt have her reſidence; no longer ſhall my ears be grated with the horrid din of war; my eyes ſhall not here behold the tears of the widow, with her children clung round her, bewailing the loſs of a fond huſband and tender father, torn by force from their arms.—But gueſs my aſtoniſhment, at finding them the moſt litigious and quarrelſome party I had yet met with: and though they boaſted of being free, were ſo *only* in idea! I wondered much how they were ſo eaſily duped, ſeeing no force uſed, not ſo much as a threat: they were even ſaid to have the reins of Government in their own hands, and allowed to drive at pleaſure. But their Monarch took a ſafer way of arguing them out of their liberties, though not leſs ſure than that practiſed in the other ſocieties through which I paſſed—I mean convincing by ready money; or, as ſome call it, *bribing a man to an opinion*. Experience has proved this to be the moſt effectual method. *Arguments from the mint* will perſuade much ſooner than thoſe drawn from *reaſon* and *philoſophy*. Gold is a wonderful clearer of the underſtanding. It ſatisfies every doubt in an inſtant; ſilences the clamorous; ſtops the mouth of the orator; brings over the moſt inflexible ſtateſman; and, in ſhort, is capable of arguing men out of all their liberties.

Wiſhing to ſee one of theſe *ſupernatural beings* called *monarchs*, I advanced towards a palace which ſtood at a little diſtance. At the gate was placed a number of guards, cloathed with all the tawdry pomp of power, in order to ſtrike with awe the beholders.

beholders. They permitted me to paſs into a large hall, the walls thereof were gilded all for ſhow. At the upper end of the hall was a throne ſupported by magical contrivance upon a few *gothic pillars*. On one pillar I obſerved the word *ſuperſtition*, on another *divine right*. Theſe two were in many places nearly mouldered to pieces; ſo that the throne actually tottered, and muſt have fallen, had it not been ſupported by a third pillar of that faſcinating metal called *gold*; whoſe luſtre dazzled the eyes of moſt of the beholders, to ſuch a degree, that they were unable to obſerve either the inſcriptions or defects of the other two. The throne was covered with a canopy, which glittered with all the riches which pomp could invent. Under it ſat DESPOTISM, arrayed in all the gorgeous trappings of *arrogance* and *power*. *Folly* hovered around his crown; ambition ſat like a ſpread eagle on the top of his ſcepter; and vanity ſupported the ſkirt of his train. At the foot of the throne ſat *Flattery*, giving her colours and complexions to every thing around: beſide her ſat *Error*, deluding the multitude, and ſtriving to conceal whatever defects might appear. Many other *phantoms* ſtalked round the hall; amongſt whom was *Honour* with nothing on but an old *coat*, the atchievment of ſome of his anceſtors: there was alſo *Oſtentation* holding up his head, and ſtrutting about on tiptoe. Near the prince's right hand ſtood *Self-conceit*, frowning on thoſe who did not bow before him.

After gratifying my curioſity, and turning to leave the place, I perceived a buſtle at the door, and was not a little ſtartled at ſeeing *Broken Credit*, *Shame*, *Poverty*, *Ruin*, *Scorn*, and many others of their acquaintance force their way into the hall, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the guards. Wondering what would be the conſequence, I ſaw one who was an entire ſtranger here, a grave, decent old man, called PLAIN DEALING, get up and harangue the multitude, in the following terms:

"Citizens,

" Citizens,

" We are oppreſſed, becauſe we have no ſhare in our government. Let us ceaſe to petition for our rights; let us bluſh to bend the knee, and ſupplicate like beggars, for what nature bequeathed to us at our birth. Let us ſpeak in a tone that virtuous governors will hear, and tyrannical ones tremble at. They tell us we have liberty; yes, two or three hundred citizens have the liberty of lording it over all the others; of making and repealing laws at pleaſure; of engroſſing dignities, ranks and honours; of inveſting themſelves with the principal employments of the ſtate, and diſpoſing of the public revenue.

" Can liberty be applied to a people who have no part in the government of themſelves, or their repreſentatives? We are no farther free than as we have a ſhare in the adminiſtration, and are a branch of the national council. How intolerable to have inſult added to ſlavery! to be even challenged to prove our wrongs! alas! a taſk but too eaſy. Are not many of our fellow-citizens ſhamefully excluded from all political truſts, by acts which reward falſehood and puniſh honeſty; which uſurp the dominion of that God whom they pretend to revere? Are we not loaded with *taxes* which wring from the poor peaſant great part of his hard-earned pittance, to ſupport fooliſh and profligate wars, entered into with all the madneſs of political *quixotiſm*; and which threaten our poſterity with calamities unparalelled in any age?—Is there not an increaſing corruption in the adminiſtration of government? is not the repreſentative houſe of the people become a chamber only for regiſtering miniſterial edicts? has there not been every attempt made to ſilence that guardian of our liberty—the preſs; without which, governors and their minions, might with impunity trample on formalities, the pretended bulwark of our freedom? is not the equipoiſe in our legiſlature the mere cant

of

of viſionary theoriſts? In ſhort, is it not a government of conſpiracy—a conſpiracy only to be removed by the force of popular opinion? Are theſe imaginary ills? Do they ſeem chimerical, on account of that ſecurity into which people ſeem to be lulled—ſome by intereſt, others by fear?

"They pretend we have a conſtitution, but nobody knows the mechaniſm of it. The laws reſemble a chaos, jumbled into as many large volumes as would take a man during his life to read. Except a few capital crimes, as murder and theft, we are not ſenſible when we treſpaſs, until the lawyers (thoſe *blood-ſuckers* of ſociety) apprize us of it by proceſs; our ſentence follows hard on the commiſſion of it, ſo that we are often puniſhed for pretended crimes, without ever knowing we were doing the leaſt wrong. There is no criterion whereby we can diſtinguiſh *laws* from *dictates*; *that criterion being an expreſſion of the general will*, IS WANTING. I would admoniſh our governors to reform, before that fatal moment arrives, which is faſt approaching, when they ſhall be obliged to ſupplicate *that* people whom they *now* oppreſs and deſpiſe. I ſhudder at the thought of that dreadful period, when virtue and neceſſity ſhall compell us to inſiſt upon that freedom we now deſign to ſue for. *Deſpotic government* has now lived its time. The *Sun of Liberty* is ariſen; already the clouds that have long held the moral and political world in darkneſs begin to diſperſe, and Reaſon, like a flood of light, begins to burſt upon mankind."

The multitude at theſe words gave three huzzas, which awoke me out of my reverie.

I am, &c.

EXAMPLES OF SAFE PRINTING.

TO prevent misrepresentation in these prosecuting times, it seems necessary to publish every thing relating to Tyranny and Oppression, though only among brutes, in the most guarded manner.

The following are meant as Specimens :——

That tyger, or that other salvage wight
Is so exceeding furious and fell,
As WRONG,
[*Not meaning our most gracious Sovereign Lord the King, or the Government of this country*]
when it hath arm'd himself with might;
Not fit 'mong men that do with reason mell,
But 'mong wild beasts and salvage woods to dwell;
Where still the stronger
[*Not meaning the Great Men of this country*]
doth the weak devour,
And they that most in boldness doe excell,
Are draded most, and feared by their powre.

SPENCER.

Let us thus, O ye Britons, shew what we do *not* mean, that the Attorney General may not, in his Indictments, do it for us.

THE LION AND THE OTHER BEASTS.

From Æsop's Fables.

THE Lion [*not meaning our Sovereign Lord the King*] and several other beasts, [*not meaning the continental Kings and Powers*] entered into an alliance offensive and defensive, and were to live very socially together in the forest [*not meaning in Europe*]. One day having made a sort of an excursion, [*not meaning in France*] by way of hunting, they took a very fine, large, fat deer, [*not meaning Dunkirk, Toulon, or any other place taken from the French*] which was divided

vided into four parts; there happening to be then preſent, his majeſty the Lion, [*not meaning as ſaid before, our Sovereign Lord the King*] and only three others. After the diviſion was made, and the parts were ſet out, his majeſty [*not meaning the King of England*] advancing forward ſome ſteps, and pointing to one of the ſhares, was pleaſed to declare himſelf after the manner following: "This I ſeize and take poſſeſſion of as my right, which devolves to me, as I am deſcended by a true, lineal, hereditary, ſucceſſion from the Royal Family of Lion [*not meaning in the leaſt to vilify our Sovereign Lord the King, or the divine indefeaſible right of hereditary ſucceſſion:*] That (pointing to the ſecond) I claim by, I think, no unreaſonable demand, conſidering that all the engagements you have with the enemy turn chiefly upon my courage and conduct [*not meaning to reflect on the military conduct or courage of our Sovereign Lord the King*]; and you very well know that wars are too expenſive to be carried on without proper ſupplies [*not meaning among other wars to reflect on the war now carrying on againſt France.*] Then (nodding his head towards the third) that I ſhall take by virtue of my prerogative, [*not meaning to reflect on the King's prerogatives*] to which, I make no queſtion, but ſo dutiful and loyal a people [*not meaning to reflect on the runners or people of Bow-ſtreet, and other police offices, or the people of a preſs-gang*] will pay all the deference and regard that I can deſire. Now, as for the remaining part, the neceſſity of our preſent affairs [*not meaning to reflect on the ſtate of the Britiſh finances*] is ſo very urgent, our ſtock ſo low, and our credit [*not meaning to reflect on the numerous bankruptcies of late in this country*] ſo impaired and weakened, that I muſt inſiſt upon your granting that without any heſitation or demur; and hereof fail not at your peril [*not meaning to inſinuate that our Sovereign Lord the King would take all to himſelf, and leave nothing to others*].

CHARACTER OF AN EVIL MAGISTRATE.

From ALGERNON SIDNEY, *Esq.*

WHEN a Magiſtrate fancies he is not made for the people, but the people for him; that he does not govern for them, but for himſelf; that the people live only to encreaſe his glory, or to furniſh matter for his pleaſure; he does not enquire what he may *do for* them, but what he may *draw from* them: by this means he ſets up an intereſt of profit, pleaſure, or pomp in himſelf, repugnant to the good of the public, for which he is made to be what he is. Theſe contrary ends certainly divide the nation into parties; and while every one endeavours to advance that to which he is addicted, occaſions of hatred, for injuries every day done, or thought to be done, and received, muſt neceſſarily ariſe. This creates a moſt fierce and irreconcilable enmity; becauſe the occaſions are frequent, important, and univerſal, and the cauſes thought to be moſt juſt. The people think it to be the greateſt of all crimes to convert that power to their hurt, which was inſtituted for their good; and that the injuſtice is aggravated by perjury and ingratitude, which comprehend all manner of ill; and the Magiſtrate gives the name of ſedition and rebellion to whatſoever they do for the preſervation of themſelves and their rights. When men's ſpirits are thus prepared, a ſmall matter ſets them on fire; but if no accident happens to blow them into a flame, the courſe of juſtice is certainly interrupted, the public affairs are neglected; and when any occaſion, whether foreign or domeſtic, ariſes in which the Magiſtrate ſtands in need of the people's aſſiſtance, they whoſe affections are alienated, not only ſhew an unwillingneſs to ſerve him with their perſons and eſtates, but fear that by delivering him from his diſtreſs they ſtrengthen their enemy, and enable him

to

to oppreſs them; and he fancying his will to be unjuſtly oppoſed, or his due more unjuſtly denied, is filled with a diſlike of what he ſees, and a fear of worſe for the future. Whilſt he endeavours to eaſe himſelf of the one, and to provide againſt the other, he uſually encreaſes the evils of both; and jealouſies are on both ſides multiplied. Every man knows that the governed are in a great meaſure under the power of the governor; but as no man or number of men is willingly ſubject to thoſe that ſeek their ruin, ſuch as fall into ſo great a misfortune, continue no longer under it, than force, fear, or neceſſity may be able to oblige them. But ſuch a neceſſity can hardly be longer upon a great people, than till the evil be fully diſcovered and comprehended, and their virtue, ſtrength, and power be united to expell it: The ill Magiſtrate looks upon all things that may conduce to that end, as ſo many preparatives to his ruin; and by the help of thoſe who are of his party, will endeavour to prevent that union, and diminiſh that ſtrength, virtue, power, and courage, which he knows to be bent againſt him. And as truth, faithful dealing, and integrity of manners are bands of union, and helps to good, he will always, by tricks, artifices, cavils, and all means poſſible, endeavour to eſtabliſh falſhood and diſhoneſty; whilſt other emiſſaries and inſtruments of iniquity, by corrupting the youth, and ſuch as can be brought to lewdneſs and debauchery, bring the people to ſuch a paſs, that they may neither care nor dare to vindicate their rights; and that thoſe who would do it may ſo far ſuſpect each other, as not to confer upon, much leſs to join in, any action tending to the public deliverance.

This diſtinguiſhes the good from the bad Magiſtrate, the faithful from the unfaithful; and thoſe that adhere to either, living in the ſame principle, muſt walk in the ſame ways. They who uphold the rightful power of a juſt Magiſtracy, encourage virtue

and juſtice, and teach men what they ought to do, ſuffer, or expect from others; they fix them upon principles of honeſty, and generally advance every thing that tends to the encreaſe of the valour, ſtrength, greatneſs, and happineſs of the nation, creating a good union among them, and bringing every man to an exact underſtanding of his own and the public rights. On the other ſide, he that would introduce an ill Magiſtrate, make one evil who was good, or preſerve him in the adminiſtration of injuſtice when he is corrupted, muſt always open the way for him by vitiating the people, corrupting their manners, deſtroying the validity of oaths, teaching ſuch evaſions, equivocations, and frauds, as are inconſiſtant with the thoughts that become men of virtue and courage; and overthrowing the confidence they ought to have in each other, make it impoſſible for them to unite amongſt themſelves. The like arts muſt be uſed with the Magiſtrate: He cannot be for their turns, till he is perſuaded to believe he has no dependence upon, and owes no duty to the people; that he is of himſelf, and not by their inſtitution: that no man ought to enquire into, nor be judge of his actions; that all obedience is due to him, whether he be good or bad, wiſe or fooliſh, a father or an enemy to his country. This being calculated for his perſonal intereſt, he muſt purſue the ſame deſigns, or his kingdom is divided within itſelf, and cannot ſubſiſt. By this means, thoſe who flatter his humour, come to be accounted his friends, and the only men that are thought worthy of great truſts; while ſuch as are of another mind are expoſed to all perſecution. Theſe are always ſuch as excell in virtue, wiſdom, and greatneſs of ſpirit: They have eyes, and they will always ſee the way they go; and leaving fools to be guided by implicit faith, will diſtinguiſh between good and evil, and chuſe that which is beſt; they will judge of men by their actions, and by them diſcovering whoſe ſervant every man

man is, know whether he is to be obeyed or not. Thoſe who are ignorant of all good, careleſs, or enemies to it, take a more compendious way: their ſlaviſh, vicious, and baſe natures inclining them to ſeek only private and preſent advantage, they eaſily ſlide into a blind dependence upon one who has wealth and power; and deſiring only to know his will, care not what injuſtice they do if they may be rewarded. They worſhip what they find in the temple, though it be the vileſt of idols; and always like that beſt which is worſt, becauſe it agrees with their inclinations and principles. When a party comes to be erected upon ſuch a foundation, debauchery, lewdneſs, and diſhoneſty are the true badges of it; ſuch as wear them are cheriſhed; but the principal marks of favour are reſerved for them who are the moſt induſtrious in miſchief, either by ſeducing the people with the allurements of ſenſual pleaſures, or corrupting their underſtandings with falſe and ſlaviſh doctrines.

On the INJUSTICE *of a* NATION *conceiting itſelf the only favourite People of Heaven.*

From a Pamphlet entitled *The Sins of the Nation.*

Being a FAST-DAY SERMON.

THERE is a notion which has a direct tendency to, make us unjuſt, becauſe it tends to make us think God is ſo; I mean the idea which moſt nations have entertained, that they are the peculiar favourites of Heaven. We nouriſh our pride by fondly fancying that we are the only nation for whom the providence of God exerts itſelf; the only nation whoſe form of worſhip is agreeable to him; the only nation whom he has endowed with a competent ſhare of wiſdom

wiſdom to frame wiſe laws and rational governments. Each nation is to itſelf the fleece of Gideon, and drinks excluſively the dew of ſcience; but as God is no reſpecter of perſons, ſo neither is he of nations; he has not, like earthly monarchs, his favourites.—There is a great deal even in our thankſgivings, which is exceptionable on this account; 'God, we 'thank thee, that we are not like other nations;'—yet we ſurely load ourſelves with every degree of guilt; but then we like to conſider *ourſelves* as a child that is chidden, and others as outcaſts.

When the workings of theſe bad paſſions are ſwelled to their height by mutual animoſity and oppoſition, *war* enſues. War is a ſtate in which all our feelings and our duties ſuffer a total and ſtrange inverſion; a ſtate, in which

"*Life dies, Death lives, and Nature breeds*
"*Perverſe, all monſtrous, all prodigious things.*"

A ſtate, in which it becomes our buſineſs to hurt and annoy our neighbour, by every poſſible means; inſtead of cultivating, to deſtroy; inſtead of building, to pull down; inſtead of peopling, to depopulate; a ſtate, in which we drink the tears, and feed upon the miſery of our fellow-creatures; ſuch a ſtate, therefore, requires the extremeſt neceſſity to juſtify it; it ought not to be the common and uſual ſtate of ſociety. As both parties cannot be in the right, there is always an equal chance, at leaſt, to either of them of being in the wrong; but as both parties may be to blame, and moſt commonly are, the chance is very great indeed againſt its being entered into from any adequate cauſe; yet war may be ſaid to be, with regard to nations, *the ſin which moſt eaſily beſets them.* We, my friends in common with other nations, have much guilt to repent of from this cauſe, and it ought to make a large part of our humiliation on this day. When we carry our eyes back through the long records of our hiſtory, we ſee wars of plunder, wars,

of

of conqueſt, wars of religion, wars of pride, wars of ſucceſſion, wars of idle ſpeculation, wars of unjuſt interference and hardly among them a war of neceſſary defence in any of our eſſential or very important intereſts. Of late years indeed we have known none of the calamities of war in our own country but the waſteful expence of it; and ſitting aloof from thoſe circumſtances of perſonal provocation, which in ſome meaſure might excuſe its fury, we have calmly voted ſlaughter and merchandized deſtruction—ſo much blood and tears for ſo many rupees, or dollars, or ingots. Our wars have been wars of cool calculating intereſt, as free from hatred as love of mankind; the paſſions which ſtir the blood have had no ſhare in them. We devote a certain number of men to periſh on land and ſea, and the reſt of us ſleep ſound, and protected in our uſual occupations talk of the events of war as what diverſifies, the flat uniformity of life.

In this guilty buſineſs there is a circumſtance which greatly aggravates its guilt and that is the impiety of calling upon the Divine Being to aſſiſt us in it. Almoſt all nations have been in the habit of mixing with their bad paſſions a ſhew of religion, and of prefacing theſe their murders with prayers, and the ſolemnities of worſhip. When they ſend out their armies to deſolate a country, and deſtroy the fair face of nature, they have the preſumption to hope that the ſovereign of the univerſe will condeſcend to be their auxiliary, and to enter into their petty and deſpicable conteſt. Their prayer, if put into plain language, would run thus: *God of love, Father of all the families of the earth, we are going to tear in pieces our brethren of mankind, but our ſtrength is not equal to our fury, we beſeech thee to aſſiſt us in the work of ſlaughter. Go out, we pray thee, with our fleets and armies; we call them Chriſtians, and we have interwoven in our banners, and the decorations of our arms, the ſymbols of a ſuffering religion, that we may*

fight

fight under the Croſs upon which our Saviour died. Whatever miſchief we do, we ſhall do it in thy name; we hope, therefore, thou wilt protect us in it. Thou who haſt made of one blood all the dwellers upon the earth, we truſt thou wilt view us alone with partial favour, and enable us to bring miſery upon every other quarter of the globe.——Now if we really expect ſuch prayers to be anſwered, we are the weakeſt, if not, we are the moſt hypocritical of beings.

THE POOR WEEP UNHEEDED.

From The Citizen of the World, *by Dr. Goldſmith.*

WHO are thoſe who make the ſtreets their couch, and find a ſhort repoſe from wretchedneſs at the doors of the opulent? Theſe are ſtrangers, wanderers, and orphans, whoſe circumſtances are too humble to expect redreſs, and whoſe diſtreſſes are too great even for pity. Their wretchedneſs excites rather horror than pity. Some are without the covering even of rags, and others emaciated with diſeaſe; the world has diſclaimed them; ſociety turns its back upon their diſtreſs, and has given them up to nakedneſs and hunger. Theſe poor ſhivering females have once ſeen happier days, and been flattered into beauty. They have been proſtituted to THE GAY LUXURIOUS VILLAIN, and are now turned out to meet the ſeverity of winter. Perhaps, now lying at the doors of their betrayers, they ſue to wretches whoſe hearts are inſenſible, or debauchees who may curſe, but will not relieve them.

Why, why was I born a man, and yet ſee the ſufferings of wretches I cannot relieve! Poor houſeleſs creatures! the world will give you reproaches, but will not give you relief. The ſlighteſt misfortunes of the great, the moſt imaginary uneaſineſs of the

the rich, are aggravated with all the power of eloquence, and held up to engage our attention and ſympathetic ſorrow. The poor weep unheeded, perſecuted by every ſubordinate ſpecies of tyranny; and *every law which gives others ſecurity becomes an enemy to them.*

ON THE FOLLY OF KINGS.

From Faſt-Day Sermons, *by the Rev. J. Murray, Author of* Sermons to Aſſes. *Printed in* 1781.

Woe to thee, O Land! when thy King is a child, and thy Princes eat in the morning! ECCLE. X. ver. 16.

IT is a vulgar proverb, that ſome people are twice children; this is ſometimes the lot of kings, and was the caſe of the ſon of Solomon, the ſon of David. This Prince was forty and one years old when he came to the kingdom, and was a child of a pretty competent age; but notwithſtanding his number of years, his folly ſhewed him to be but a child. It will be neceſſary to illuſtrate this Prince's childhood in a few particulars.

Firſt, He obſtinately refuſed to redreſs the grievances of his people, and threatened to encreaſe them. Though money was plenty in the days of Solomon, the people were poor; gold and ſilver were plenty in Jeruſalem, and near the king's court, but it does not ſeem to have circulated as far as Shechem, and the extremities of Palaſtine. The real wealth of nations does not conſiſt in a large quantity of ſpecie, but in a proper balance of the value of money with the price of uſeful commodities. Solomon was rich, but his ſubjects were poor and oppreſſed. The misfortune of Solomon's government, for all the wiſdom

wiſdom that he had, was, that he brought more luxuries into the nation than commodities profitable for the ſervice of the people. He was alſo very extravagant in his houſhold expences, and the charges of his government. "*His proviſion for one day was thirty meaſures of fine flour, and threeſcore meaſures of meal; ten fat oxen, and twenty oxen out of the paſture, and an hundred ſheep, beſides harts, and roebucks, and fallow deer, and fatted fowls. He had alſo forty thouſand ſtalls for horſes, for chariots, and twelve thouſand horſemen.*" This was a monſtrous peace eſtabliſhment. What a dreadful expence muſt this have been to the nation!

Under all this ſhew of wealth and ſplendor in the king, the people were poor, and greatly oppreſſed. They therefore came to the new king, to aſk a redreſs of their grievances, and to have their burdens made lighter. But he anſwered them roughly, and would not liſten to their humble petition. *They ſpake unto him, ſaying, Thy father made our yoke grievous; now therefore make thou the grievous ſervice of thy father, and his heavy yoke which he put upon us lighter, and we will ſerve thee.* There was nothing unreaſonable in all this; it was a very modeſt requeſt, and none, except a *child* or a *fool*, would have refuſed it. Solomon ſeems to have had ſome ſuſpicion of his ſon before he died; for he ſays, *he hated all his labour, becauſe he was to leave it to the man that ſhould come after him, and he knew not whether he ſhould be a wiſe man or a fool.* What his father was afraid of he now ſhewed publicly, in refuſing the requeſt of his people, who promiſed willingly to ſerve him, provided he would enable them to do it when it was in his power. Could any thing be more childiſh than to continue an expenſive government, and an enormous civil liſt, when all ranks of perſons were groaning under burdens, and complaining of oppreſſion? The complaints of the people are not to be trifled with; for if princes will not relieve them, they will themſelves,

themſelves, and the Almighty will help them to do it. It was a moſt childiſh action in that weak Prince to refuſe ſuch a reaſonable petition, which was altogether for his own intereſt to grant; for the people promiſed to ſerve him if he would eaſe them a little; ſo he might have ſaved all by a little condeſcenſion, which he loſt through wilfulneſs and obſtinacy. What can princes imagine the people are made of, when they treat them ſo ridiculouſly? they muſt ſurely think that they are not creatures of like paſſions with themſelves, otherwiſe they would ſoon conclude, that they would not ſuffer the treatment which they often give them.

Secondly, This Prince refuſed the advice of his father's aged and wiſe counſellors. *They ſpake unto him ſaying, if thou wilt be a ſervant to this people, and will ſerve them, then they will be thy ſervants for ever.* They deſerved every one a penſion for this advice; but ſuch words of wiſdom ſeldom meet with acceptance or preferment from childiſh princes. Thoſe old ſages knew the office and duty of a king. It is only that of a *public ſervant* to the community, by fulfilling of which, they ſecure the love and obedience of their ſubjects for ever, which is the beſt ſecurity. This wiſe counſel did not ſuit the humour of this *fooliſh* and *childiſh* Prince. The word *ſervant* ſounded harſh in his deſpotic ears—A king to be a ſervant! how uncourtly the thought! how unroyal the idea! thoſe counſellors could not expect to continue long in his Majeſty's ſervice; they were far too honeſt and free in their advice, to ſuit the cabinet of a *childiſh* and *obſtinate* ſovereign. They, however, diſcharged their duty, and gave the beſt proofs of their regard and love to their Prince and their Country. Thoſe old men knew the ſtate of the nation, and were well perſuaded that the people would not long ſuffer the oppreſſions they were groaning under; they underſtood that many things had been now warped into government that were

contrary to the conſtitution of the Kingdom. The law ſaid, *that the King ſhould not multiply horſes, nor make the people return to Egypt for that purpoſe, neither was he to multiply to himſelf ſilver and gold.* Solomon had tranſgreſſed in all theſe reſpects, and more than all, he had been guilty of idolatry, and had not walked in the ſtatutes of God, like David his Father. Theſe were all flagrant breaches of the conſtitution, which the old men knew were unwarrantable, and that the Lord would not ſuffer to paſs unpuniſhed if they were perſiſted in. They alſo knew that the people's claims were juſt and reaſonable, and ought to have been complied with, and for theſe reaſons gave him wholeſome counſel, which a wiſe prince would have received with thankfulneſs, aud rewarded with honor. But this childiſh Prince was fonder of the gewgaws of majeſty and ſtate, than the dignity of real government; and choſe rather to imitate the *ſins* and *follies* of his Father's reign, than covet his wiſdom, wherein he was worthy of imitation.

Nothing could be more fooliſh and weak, than to violate the fundamental laws of government. It was a fundamental law of the land, that the king ſhould not have his heart lifted up above his brethren; for if this ſhould happen, he nor his children were to prolong their days in the kingdom. Yet this he regarded nothing, but for the ſake of unjuſt dominion, loſt the ten parts out of twelve of his whole dominions.

Thirdly, It was childiſh, to turn away men of age and experience, and to chuſe young counſellors who knew but little, and were on that account more ready to be raſh and headſtrong. He however adviſed with the young men that had grown up with himſelf, who gave him counſel according to his own inclination. Perhaps ſome of them had been his *tutors*, and had taught him thoſe principles of government, which they wiſhed to ſee put in practice now when he was come to the throne. Their principles are manifeſt from the advice which they gave their

their ſovereign. *And they ſaid unto him, thus ſhalt thou ſpeak unto this people that ſpeak unto thee ſaying, thy Father made our yoke heavy, but make thou it lighter unto us: thus ſhalt thou ſay unto them, my little finger ſhall be heavier than my Father's loins, and now whereas my Father did lade you with a heavy yoke, I will add to your yoke, my Father did chaſtize you with whips, but I will chaſtize you with ſcorpions.* This ſpeech, like many other ſpeeches that are made for king's, this childiſh Prince was ſo fooliſh as to deliver to the people, which made them change their petition into a remonſtrance, which he did not ſoon forget. *The people anſwered the King and ſaid, what portion have we in David? Neither have we inheritance in the ſon of Jeſſe: to your tents, O Iſrael! now ſee to thine own houſe David.* It is the greateſt folly in the world for kings to drive their ſubjects to deſpair; there is none can tell what a people will do when once they are awakened. All families are alike to them when their own natural rights and privileges are come in competition.

Whatever reaſons Rehoboam might give for preferring theſe raſh counſellors inſtead of the old ſages who gave ſalutary advice, they certainly had their foundation in weakneſs and childiſhneſs. He might probably alledge that he had a right to chuſe his own ſervants and prefer his particular friends; this is a common argument with ſovereigns when they are challenged on this head. But they ought to conſider, that the government of a nation is very different from the government of a houſhold, or the management of domeſtic affairs. Though a king has a right to chuſe his own ſervants, yet thoſe ſervants have no right to ruin a whole nation to pleaſe one man. A prince may appoint whom he pleaſes to manage the affairs of his own houſe, without conſulting the nation concerning his conduct; but what relates to the public is quite different; the ſovereign and all his ſervants are accountable to the community

for the management of public affairs; for there can be no authority with uncontrollable power to ruin mankind, lodged in any department of ſociety.

THE ANT IN OFFICE.

By GAY, *to a Friend.*

YOU tell me, that you apprehend
My verſe may touchy folks offend.
In prudence too you think my rhymes
Should never ſquint at courtiers' crimes;
For though nor this, nor that is meant,
Can we another's thoughts prevent?
You aſk me, if I ever knew
Court chaplains thus the lawn purſue.
I meddle not with gown or lawn;
Poets, I grant, to riſe muſt fawn.
They know great ears are over-nice,
And never ſhock their patron's vice.
But I this hackney path deſpiſe;
'Tis my ambition not to riſe.
If I muſt proſtitute the muſe,
The baſe conditions I refuſe.
I neither flatter nor defame,
Yet own I wou'd bring guilt to ſhame.
If I corruption's hand expoſe,
I make corrupted men my foes,
What then? I hate the paultry tribe.
Be virtue mine—be their's the bribe.
I no man's property invade;
Corruption's yet no lawful trade.
Nor would it mighty ills produce,
Could I ſhame brib'ry out of uſe;
I know 'twould cramp moſt politicians,
Were they ty'd down to theſe conditions.

'Twould

'Twould ſtint their pow'r, their riches bound,
And make their parts ſeem leſs profound.
Were they deny'd their proper tools,
How could they lead their knaves and fools?
Were this the caſe, let's take a view,
What dreadful miſchiefs would enſue:
Though it might aggrandize the ſtate,
Could private luxury dine on plate?
Kings might indeed their friends reward,
But miniſters find leſs regard.
Informers, ſycophants, and ſpies,
Would not augment the year's ſupplies.
Perhaps too, take away this prop,
An annual job or two might drop.
Beſides, if penſions were deny'd,
Could avarice ſupport its pride?
It might even miniſters confound,
And yet the ſtate be ſafe and ſound.

I care not though 'tis underſtood
I only mean my country's good:
And (let who will my freedom blame),
I wiſh all courtiers did the ſame.
Nay, though ſome folks the leſs might get,
I wiſh the nation out of debt.
I put no private man's ambition
With public good in competition:
Rather than have our law defac'd,
I'd vote a miniſter diſgrac'd.

I ſtrike at vice, be't where it will;
And what if great folks take it ill?
I hope corruption, bribery, penſion,
One may with deteſtation mention:
Think you the law (let who will take it)
Can *ſcandalum magnatum* make it?
I vent no ſlander, owe no grudge,
Nor of another's conſcience judge:
At him or him I take no aim,
Yet dare againſt all vice declaim.

Shall I not cenſure breach of truſt,
Becauſe knaves know themſelves unjuſt ?
That ſteward, whoſe account is clear,
Demands his honour may appear ;
His actions never ſhun the light,
He is, and wou'd be prov'd upright.

But then you think my Fable bears
Alluſion too, to ſtate affairs.
I grant it does : and who's ſo great,
That has the privilege to cheat ;
If, then, in any future reign
(For miniſters may thirſt for gain)
Corrupted hands defraud the nation ;
I bar no reader's application.

An Ant there was, whoſe forward prate
Controul'd all matters in debate ;
Whether he knew the thing or no,
His tongue eternally would go.
For he had impudence at will,
And boaſted univerſal ſkill.
Ambition was his point in view ;
Thus, by degrees, to pow'r he grew.
Behold him now his drift attain ;
He's made chief treas'rer of the grain.

But as their ancient laws are juſt,
And puniſh breach of public truſt,
'Tis ordered (leſt wrong application
Should ſtarve that wiſe induſtrious nation),
That all accounts be ſtated clear,
Their ſtock, and what defray'd the year :
That auditors ſhould theſe inſpect,
And public rapine thus be check'd.
For this the ſolemn day was ſet,
The auditors in council met.
The gran'ry-keeper muſt explain,
And balance his account of grain.
He brought (ſince he could not refuſe 'em)
Some ſcraps of paper to amuſe 'em.

An honeſt Piſmire, warm with zeal,
In juſtice to the public weal,
Thus ſpoke :—The nation's hoard is low,
From whence does this profuſion flow ?
I know our annual fund's amount.
Why ſuch expence ; and where's th' account ?

With wonted arrogance and pride,
The Ant in office thus reply'd :
Conſider, ſirs, were ſecrets told,
How could the beſt-ſchem'd projects hold ?
Should we ſtate-myſteries diſcloſe,
'Twould lay us open to our foes.
My duty, and my well-known zeal,
Bid me our preſent ſchemes conceal.
But, on my honour, all th' expence
(Though vaſt), was for the ſwarm's defence.
They paſs'd the account as fair and juſt,
And voted him implicit truſt.

Next year again the gran'ry drain'd,
He thus his innocence maintain'd.
Think how our preſent matters ſtand,
What dangers threat from ev'ry hand ;
What hoſts of turkeys ſtroll for food,
No farmer's wife but hath her brood.
Conſider, when invaſion's near,
Intelligence muſt coſt us dear ;
And in this tickliſh ſituation,
A ſecret told betrays the nation.
But, on my honour, all th' expence
(Though vaſt), was for the ſwarm's defence.
Again, without examination,
They thank'd his ſage adminiſtration.

The year revolves. The treaſure ſpent,
Again in ſecret ſervice went.
His honour too again was pledg'd,
To ſatisfy the charge alledg'd.
When thus with panic ſhame poſſeſs'd,
An auditor his friends addreſs'd.

What

What are we? Miniſterial tools.
We little knaves are greater fools.
At laſt this ſecret is explor'd;
'Tis our corruption, thins the hoard.
For ev'ry grain we touch'd, at leaſt
A thouſand his own heaps increas'd.
Then, for his kin, and fav'rite ſpies,
An hundred hardly could ſuffice.
Thus for a paltry ſneaking bribe,
We cheat ourſelves and all the tribe;
For all the magazine contains,
Grows from our annual toil and pains.

They vote th' account ſhall be inſpected;
The cunning plund'rer is detected;
The fraud is ſentenc'd; and his hoard,
As due to public uſe, reſtor'd.

A LESSON FOR THE SHEEPISH MULTITUDE.

Being QUERIES of Importance.

From a Pamphlet, entitled "The Poor Man's Advocate," *publiſhed at Newcaſtle, by* T. SPENCE, *in the Year* 1779.

WHETHER it would not be very pleaſant to ſee one horſe claiming all the paſture as his, and ordering all the reſt to depart the ſame, unleſs they fulfilled certain conditions which he chuſed to impoſe? and whether to ſee thoſe poor beaſts gathering the herbage with unceaſing anxiety and diligence eating only the worſt, but ſacredly refraining from the beſt and bringing it in large bundles with all humility and diffidence to the *gentle-horſe*, who receives it with the higheſt air of ſuperiority and unthankfulneſs;

fulneſs; and who, though they bring him more than he can deſtroy, yet is ſo far from mitigating their taſks, that he takes frequent occaſions to encreaſe them: I ſay, whether to ſee all this would not be to ſee too favourable a picture of landlord and tenant?

Whether if every paſture of the earth were thus claimed and monopolized by ſome or other *gentle-horſe* as they are by ſome or other *gentle*-man, it would not be a moſt miſerable thing to be a *landleſs* horſe?

Whether if one of thoſe unfortunate *landleſs* horſes ſhould offer to convince his fellow-ſufferers, that it was the moſt deſpicable fillineſs, to drudge thus continually for permiſſion to live on the earth which they had as good a right to as their oppreſſors, and ſhould adviſe them to throw off ſuch ignominious ſervitude; and that, if their aſſuming lords would not give up all thoughts of ſuperiority and tyranny over their fellow-creatures, that they ſhould have their brains kicked out. I ſay, whether this poor beaſt could be blamed for ſo doing, or juſtly branded with improper ſelfiſhneſs, levelling, turbulency, ſedition, or other hard names?

Whether there would not be more reaſon for ſuſpecting ſuch as took part with the *gentle* horſes of ſelfiſhneſs, as none certainly would, but from hopes of ſharing in the plunder, or of becoming *gentry* ſometime or other themſelves, and exempted from the labour of cutting their own graſs, whereas the poor levelling horſe could expect nothing from his impartial ſcheme but his bare natural due, which it is the higheſt honour to claim, and prevent all encroachments upon?

Whether thoſe brutes who would not join ſincerely with this honeſt horſe for the recovery of their rights, for themſelves and poſterity, from any cauſe, but eſpecially from being bribed or hired by their oppreſſors, ought not to be deemed unworthy of every privilege of nature, and ſpurned from the face of the earth?

Whether

Whether one man has a natural right to rule over, or demand rent of another man, more than one horſe has a right to rule over, or demand rent of another horſe?

Whether man is not rightful lord of the whole world, namely, of lands, animals, plants, minerals, &c.?

Whether to attempt to deprive any man of this his birth-right, is not attempting to make him leſs than man?

Whether fathers have a right to waſte or alienate that, which their poſterity can not be men without? and, whether if they did, their ſons have not a right to claim and re-poſſeſs themſelves of the ſame?

Whether buying and ſelling land is not as illegal and unjuſt, according to the law of nature as buying and ſelling ſtolen goods?

Whether in Spenſonia, where the land is entirely public property, a perſon with much money would have more reaſon to complain, that he could not purchaſe land with his money, than one that has little?

Whether if a perſon grows rich in money, which he has a right to do by his induſtry, trading, or other lawful means, he ought therefore to complain that he cannot reduce his fellow-creatures to a ſtate of dependence upon him, by purchaſing their land?

Whether the public, and the hirer of a poor labouring man, are not ſaid to be clear with him upon paying him his wages? and whether the public ought not to be accounted as clear with a rich man upon paying him his due in money, though they ſuffer him not to purchaſe their land?

Whether it is not enough that he be allowed to trade, lend, ſpend, or lay up, give away, or do what he will with his riches, buying land, or men's perſons excepted?

Whether if trafficking in land be pleaded as a great and laudable incitement to induſtry, trafficking in the perſons of men may not as juſtly be pleaded for the ſame reaſon?

Whether

Whether thoſe who live by their rents, may not be ſaid to live on the pariſh more properly than moſt of the poor people who are ſaid to do ſo? becauſe thoſe locuſts get what they get from the public for nothing; whereas, the moſt of the poor have, by their former labour, laid up an ample ſtock in the hands of the public, to ſubſiſt on in their old age, and under infirmities?

Whether the poor ought not to be allowed one perſon or book to plead their intereſt, when the rich have ſo many of both to plead theirs?

Whether if the right honourable the gentlemen will not accept of our lands and labours without our reaſon too, they do not deſerve to want all?

Whether if they thought it for their intereſt that we ſhould not ſee, we ought therefore to put out our eyes to oblige them?

Whether the *landed* men do not take upon themſelves the ſole lordſhip of this world, even to the power of killing a hare, and treat the reſt of men as a ſpecies of the brute creation, made for their ſervice and convenience? and whether when theſe creatures are not ſpoiled by thinking on things too high and, as they ſay, out of their ſphere, they are not the moſt tractable and uſeful animals to their maſters that can be?

Whether truth ought to be diſcouraged or hid through fear of danger? and, if ſo, whether the moſt important truths have not enemies, who, to have them ſmothered would pronounce them dangerous?

Whether we would not laugh at any profeſſion, trade, or intereſt, that ſhould call thoſe principles dangerous, by which it could be proved, that they defrauded and robbed the public of millions annually, and were combined together for that purpoſe? and, whether we have not as good reaſon to laugh at the profeſſion of gentlemen, when they call levelling principles dangerous?

Whether though the members of the body for their own benefit muſt maintain the belly, they may not lawfully deſtroy all the worms therein?

HISTORY

HISTORY AND ORIGIN OF REPUBLICS.

From The Perſian Letters. *By Lord Lyttleton.*

ONE of the things which moſt exerciſed my curioſity after my arrival in Europe, was the Hiſtory and Origin of Republics. Thou knoweſt that generally the *Aſiatics* have not ſo much as the leaſt idea of this ſort of goverment, and that their imagination never extended ſo far as to comprehend, there could poſſibly be any other ſort than the deſpotic throughout the world.

The firſt governments were monarchical: it was only by chance, and length of time, that republics were formed.

Greece having been ſwallowed up by a deluge, new inhabitants came to people it: ſhe had almoſt all her Colonies from Egypt, and the neareſt *Aſiatic* countries: and thoſe countries being governed by kings the people that came out of them were governed in the like mannerr But the tyranny of thoſe princes growing too heavy, the people ſhook off the yoke, and from the broken remains of ſo many kingdoms aroſe thoſe republics which made *Greece* ſo very flouriſhing, the only polite country amidſt Barbarians.

The love of liberty, and averſion to kings, preſerved *Greece* a long time in a ſtate of independence, and very far extended the republican government. The cities of Greece found allies in *Aſia Minor*; they ſent thither colonies as free as themſelves, which were ſo many ramparts againſt the attempts of the kings of *Perſia*. This was not all: *Greece* peopled *Italy*; *Italy*, *Spain*, and perhaps *Gaul*. It is notorious that the great *Heſperia*, ſo famous among the antients, was at the beginning *Greece*, which was looked upon by its neighbours as the ſeat of felicity: the *Greeks* not finding at home that happy country, went

went and looked for it in *Italy:* thoſe of *Italy*, in *Spain*; thoſe of *Spain* in *Bætica* or *Portugal:* ſo that all theſe regions went by this name among the ancients. Theſe *Greek* Colonies carried along with them a ſpirit of liberty, which they had aſſumed from that kindly climate. And accordingly we ſeldom or never, in thoſe remote times, meet with monarchies in *Italy*, *Spain*, or either of the *Gauls*. We ſhall ſee by and by, that the people of the *North* and of *Germany*, were no leſs free than the others; and if there are appearances of any thing like royalty among them, it is becauſe their leaders of armies, or heads of republics, were miſtaken for kings.

All this happened in *Europe:* as for *Aſia* and *Africa*, they were ever oppreſſed with deſpotiſm; excepting ſome towns of *Aſia Minor* already taken notice of; and the republic of Carthage in Africa.

The world was divided between two powerful republics, *Rome* and *Carthage;* nothing is ſo well known as the beginning of the Roman republic, and nothing ſo little known as the origin of that of *Carthage:* we are utterly ignorant of the ſucceſſion of the *African* Princes, after *Dido*, nor do we know by what means they came to loſe their power. The prodigious increaſe of the *Roman* republic would have been a great bleſſing to mankind, had there not been that unreaſonable difference between the citizens of *Rome*, and the conquered nations; had they given to the governors of provinces, a more limited authority; had they paid due regard to thoſe divine laws, made to reſtrain their tyranny; and had they not, in order to ſilence thoſe laws, employed the very treaſures which their rapine and injuſtice, had accumulated together.

Liberty ſeems to be calculated to the genius of the nations of *Europe*, and ſlavery adapted to tha of the *Aſiatics*. In vain did the *Romans* offer tht

invaluable treaſure to the *Cappadocians*; that worthleſs nation refuſed it, and courted ſervitude with the ſame ardour as other nations purſued liberty.

Cæſar cruſhed the *Roman* republic, and brought it under arbitrary power.

Europe groaned a long time beneath the military and violent government; and the *Roman* mildneſs was changed into a hard-hearted oppreſſion.

Mean while, infinite numbers of unknown nations, ſwarmed from out the *North*: ſpread themſelves like torrents through all the *Roman* provinces; and finding it as eaſy a thing to make conqueſts, as to increaſe their piracies, they diſmembered thoſe provinces, and made kingdoms of them. Theſe people were free; and they ſo confined the authority of their kings, that they were properly ſpeaking no more than chieftains, or generals. Thus, thoſe kingdoms, though founded in force, felt not the yoke of a conqueror. When the nations of *Aſia*, namely the *Turks* and the *Tartars*, made any conqueſts, they being accuſtomed to the will and pleaſure of one ſingle perſon, thought of nothing more than bringing him new ſubjects, and by the force of arms eſtabliſh his violent authority; but the *Nothern* nations being free in their own country, when they had ſeized the *Roman* provinces, took care not to beſtow on their chief, too large a power. Nay ſome of them, the *Vandals*, for inſtance, in *Africa*, the Goths in Spain, depoſed their kings whenever they were diſſatisfied with them: and the others too abridged the authority of the prince a thouſand ways: a great number of lords, took ſhare of it with him; a war was never entered into without their conſent; the plunder was divided between the general and the ſoldiers; no taxation in favour of the prince; the laws were made in aſſemblies of the whole nation, ſuch was the fundamental principle of all thoſe ſtates that were formed out of the wrecks of the *Roman* empire.

EDMUND

EDMUND BURKE's

Addreſs to the Swiniſh Multitude.

" *Here is the conſtitution, which we have made for you and for your poſterity for ever. We buckle it on your back, for you are beaſts of burden, you muſt not dare to touch it,*" Burke.

YE Swiniſh Multitude who prate,
What know ye 'bout the matter?
Myſterious are the ways of ſtate,
Of which you ſhould not chatter:
Our church and ſtate, like man and wife,
Together kindly cuddle:
Together ſhare the ſweets of life,
Together feaſt and fuddle.

CHORUS.

Then hence ye Swine nor make a rout,
Forbearance but relaxes;
We'll clap the muzzle on your ſnout,
Go work, and pay your taxes.

Ye apron men to labour bred,
How dare ye thus to quarrel;
We'll take your children's beer and bread,
And you ſhan't ſmell the barrel.
'Tis ours to take your needful ſcot,
When e'er we lack aſſiſtance;
Paſſive obedience is your lot,
And humble non-reſiſtance.

Then hence ye Swine, &c.

How dare you rail at noble lords,
Remember Richmond's power:
To bind you neck and heels in cords,
Baſtile you in the Tower.

Stormount and we ſhall break your hearts
With writs and declarations;
And Fox no longer takes your parts,
Or vindicates the nations.

Then hence ye Swine, &c.

No reformation you ſhall have,
We tell it to your faces;
Make every mother's ſon a ſlave,
And yet we'll keep our places.
In vain you ſwear at Billy Pitt,
At George in vain you grumble;
We'll take two thirds of all you get,
To keep you poor and humble.

Then hence ye Swine, &c,

Equality, that crime abhor'd,
Of this you dare to prattle:
Of different clay, is made my lord,
He ſhepherd, you the cattle.
So hence ye herds, and graze below,
Where'er he bids be jogging,
Firſt lick the duſt from off his toe,
Or patient bear his flogging.

Then hence ye Swine, &e.

Now when we ſee you mend your lives,
And live in humble quarters:
We'll let you kiſs in peace your wives,
Nor tax for new born daughters.
Let us at will reap all you've ſown,
Nor deal in turn vexation;
John Bull ſhould bear, and never frown,
Beneath immence taxation.

Then hence ye Swine, &c.

Remember all I ſay, for ſhame,
I ſay ye Swine remember;
Or elſe we'll play you ſuch a game,
We did in laſt November.

Ou

Our proclamations ſent about,
'Tis Billy Pitt ſhall plan 'um,
Of plots that never yet came out,
Except of Richmond's cranium.
Then hence ye Swine, &c.

My mandate ſhould you now neglect,
Ye multitude of grunters;
We'll tax ye ſtill, without reſpect,
To feed us fortune hunters.
Chains, gibbets, axes, ſoon ſoon ſhall riſe,
And batter in terrorum
And you ye Swine, ſhall greet our eyes,
By dangling high before them.
Then hence ye Swine, nor make a rout,
Forbearance but relaxes:
We'll clap the muzzle on your ſnout,
Go work and pay your taxes.

SINGULAR CONSTITUTION OF BASIL,

A ſmall Republic, *on the* Banks *of the* Rhine.

FROM GARDNER'S VIEWS ON THE RIVER RHINE.

THE Baſilians think their form of government, the moſt perfect in the world: And if the ſatisfaction and happineſs of the people, the equal diſtribution of juſtice, and the preſervation of decency and good order in the community, are proofs of its excellence, they have great reaſon to be fond of their conſtitution. The privileges it confers on the lower orders of the people, muſt for ever ſecure their allegiance and attachment to it, for the meaneſt citizen is eligible, and has an equal chance with the greateſt and moſt opulent, to obtain a ſeat in the ſovereign councils of the republic.

Indeed their method of chuſing the members of their legiſlature, is not in ſpeculation very favourable to the promotion of good government; for the members are not choſen for their virtues, their talents, their influence, or their birth; the appointment of them is left wholly to the caprice of fortune, who fills offices, and makes counſellors of ſtate in the republic of Baſil, in the ſame manner, and with as little reſpect to perſons, as ſhe diſtributes prizes in the Engliſh Lottery. This fanciful method of conducting elections. and beſtowing offices, may ſometimes have a ludicrous or inconvenient effect; but as ſuch accidental events, neither leſſen the dignity of their legiſlature, impede the operation, or weaken the efficacy of the laws; the prevention of them is not worth a thought. It might not perhaps be without its benefits, if the ſame practice was introduced into ſome countries where matters of this ſort ſtand in great need of regulation: for it is beyond diſpute, a moſt effectual remedy againſt that corruption, which defeats the nobleſt efforts of patriotiſm and reduces the beſt modelled conſtitutions to a level with the worſt.

On the national Sin *of Involving ſucceeding generations in Debt.*

From a pamphlet, entitled "Sins of the Nation."

EXTRAVAGANCE is a ſin, to which the nations as well as private perſons are very prone, and the conſequences to both, are exactly ſimilar. If a private man lives beyond his income, the conſequence will be loſs of independence, diſgraceful perplexity, and in the end, certain ruin. The cataſtrophies of ſtates, are ſlower in ripening, but, like

like cauſes, muſt in the end produce like effects. If you are acquainted with any individual, who, from inattention to his affairs, miſplaced confidence fooliſh law-ſuits, anticipation of his rents and profeſſion in his family expences, has involved himſelf in debts, that eat away his income, what would you ſay to ſuch a one? Would you not tell him, contract your expences; look yourſelf into your affairs, inſiſt upon exact accounts from your ſteward and bailiffs, keep no ſervants for mere ſhow and parade; mind only your own affairs, and keep at peace with your neighbours; ſet religiouſly apart an annual ſum, for diſcharging the mortgages on your eſtate. If this be good advice for one man, it is good adviſe for *nine-million* of men. If this individual ſhould perſiſt in his courſe of unthrifty profuſſion, ſaying to himſelf, the ruin will not come in my time; the miſery will not fall upon me; let poſterity take care of itſelf! would you not pronounce him at once very weak, and very ſelfeſh? my friends, a *nation* that ſhould purſue the ſame conduct, would be equally reprehenſible.

TRIBUTE TO LIBERTY.

By *W. D. Grant*,

Tune *Lullaby*.

Generous PATRIOTS, nobly daring,
Regal Ruffians rage defy;
Ev'ry toil and peril ſharing,
In purſuit of LIBERTY.

Liberty! Liberty! Liberty! Liberty!
In purſuit of liberty!

In their train ſee TRUTH appearing,
JUSTICE and EQUALITY:
Reaſon's rays ſupremely cheering,
True-born *Sons of Liberty*!

Liberty! Liberty! &c.

Nature Virtue bids us cheriſh,
Thoſe who wiſh ALL mankind free;
Then let ev'ry tyrant periſh,
Ev'ry foe to liberty.

Liberty! Liberty! &c.

THE BLESSINGS OF MEDIOCRITY.

From Swift's *Sermons.*

IF riches were ſo great a bleſſing as they are commonly thought, they would at leaſt have this advantage, to give their owners cheerful hearts and countenances; they would often ſtir them up to expreſs their thankfulneſs to God, and diſcover their ſatisfaction to the world. But in fact, the contrary to all this is true. For where are there more cloudy brows, more melancholy hearts, or more ingratitude to their great benefactor, than among thoſe who abound in wealth? And indeed it is natural that it ſhould be ſo, becauſe thoſe men, who covet things that are hard to be got, muſt be hard to pleaſe; whereas a ſmall thing maketh a poor man happy; and great loſſes cannot befal him.

It is likewiſe worth conſidering. how few among the rich have procured their wealth by juſt meaſures: how many owe their fortunes to the ſins of of their parents, how many more to their own? If men's titles were to be tried before a true court of conſcience, where falſe ſwearing, and a thouſand vile artifices, (that are well known, and can hardly

hardly be avoided in human courts of juſtice) would avail nothing; how many would be ejected with infamy and diſgrace? how many grow conſiderable by breach of truſt, by bribery and corruption? How many have ſold their religion, with the rights and liberties of themſelves and others, for power and employments?

And, it is a miſtake to think, that the moſt hardened ſinner, who oweth his poſſeſſion or titles to any ſuch wicked arts of thieving, can have true peace of mind, under the reproaches of a guilty conſcience, and amidſt the cries of ruined widows and orphans.

I know not one real advantage that the rich have over the poor, except the power of doing good to others: But this is an advantage which God hath not given wicked men the grace to make uſe of. The wealth acquired by evil means, was never employed to good ends: for that would be to divide the kingdom of *Satan* againſt itſelf. Whatever hath been gained by fraud, avarice, oppreſſion, and the like, muſt be preſerved and increaſed by the ſame methods.

I ſhall add but one thing more upon this head which I hope will convince you, that God (whoſe thoughts are not as our thoughts) never intended riches or power to be neceſſary for the happineſs of mankind in this life; becauſe it is certain, that there is not one ſingle good quality of the mind abſolutely neceſſary to obtain them, where men are reſolved to be rich at any rate; neither honour, juſtice, temperance, wiſdom, religion, truth, or learning: for a ſlight acquaintance of the world will inform us, that there have been many inſtances of men in all ages, who have arrived at great poſſeſſions, and great dignities, by cunning, fraud or flattery, without any of theſe, or any other virtues that can be named. Now if riches and greatneſs were ſuch bleſſings, that good men without them

them could have their ſhare of happineſs in this life; how cometh it to paſs, that God ſhould ſuffer them to be often dealt to the worſt and moſt profligate of mankind? that they ſhould be generally procured by the moſt abominable means, and applied to the baſeſt and moſt wicked uſes? This ought not to be conceived of a juſt, a merciful, a wiſe, and almighty being. We muſt therefore conclude that wealth and power are in their own nature, at beſt, but things indifferent, and that a good man may be equally happy without them, provided that he hath a ſufficiency of the common bleſſings of human life, to anſwer all the reaſonable and virtuous demands of nature, which his induſtry will provide, and ſobriety will prevent his wanting. Agur's prayer, with the reaſons of his wiſh, are full to this purpoſe. "Give me neither "poverty nor riches feed me with food conveni-"ent for me; leſt I be full and deny thee, and ſay "who is the Lord? Or, leſt I be poor, and ſteal, "and take the name of my God in vain."

ON SACRILEGE.

From Cato's Letters.

SACRILEGE we are told by ſome by ſome, ſignifies the robbing or ſtealing from God any thing which is peculiarly his. Now nothing can be ſtolen from God, nor can any thing be concealed from him. Every thing being his, it is as much his in the hands of one man as in the hands of another; for, let who will have the uſe of it, the property cannot be altered; God who has all things, can never be put out of poſſeſſion of any thing, and as nothing can be taken from him, ſo neither can any thing be given to him, becauſe all the world and every thing in it is already his: and it is abſurd

ſurd to imagine that any form of words, or change of place or poſition, can enlarge or leſſen his property in any thing. All that we have, we have from him: and to return him his own gifts back again, which we want and he does not, is no compliment, nor any part of religion or reaſon: It is ſhewing ourſelves wiſer than he, in ſetting apart for his uſe thoſe things which he has graciouſly created and ſet apart for ours. Can we feed him? or can we cloath, adorn or enrich him? Can we build him a city to dwell in, or furniſh him with guards for the ſecurity of his perſon?

Sacrilege therefore is either the robbing of men, or no robbery at all. And this crime is greater or leſs, according to the meaſure or miſchief done. To rob a poor man of his loaf, is a greater crime, in *foro conſcientiæ*, than to rob a rich man of an Ox: To rob a man of a ſmall part of a thing that is neceſſary to him, is a greater crime, than the robbing him of a great ſuperfluity; and if I rob a man of a thing that will do him hurt, I hope I do him leſs an injury, than if I robbed him of a thing which does him good. But if I take a thing which no man has a right to, I myſelf have a right to it, by poſſeſſing it.

To apply all this to the buſineſs of Sacrilege; if a man take away any of the books, veſtments, or utenſils, made uſe of in devotion, he only robs the congregation, who muſt buy more; and many being more able than one to bear the loſs, the offence, as to its effects, is leſs than if he robbed but one man. But if he take away from a Heathen Temple, plate, or hidden treaſure, laid up there, but not uſed, he indeed does an action that he has no right to do, but an action that however does good to the world, by turning into uſe, that which was of none, or of bad uſe.

Dead treaſure, firſt drawn from the people in ſuperſtitious offerings, and then laid up in a Hen thea-

then Temple, and kept and uſed for impious and idolatrous ends, but never to return again into the world, for the neceſſary purpoſes of life and commerce, is the plunder of mankind; and the worſt of all plunders, becauſe it never circulates; and people are greatly the worſe for it, in reſpect both of ſoul and body, but never can be the better, it is firſt taking from them and afterwards denying them the great and chief means of life and convenience. He therefore, whoever he be, that takes it from thence, let him take it in what manner he will, does a better and more public thing, than he who keeps it there.

No man can be robbed of a thing in which he has no property. Of this ſort was Apollo's wealth; and nobody was robbed in taking it away. So that whoever takes away golden images, or other dead wealth the means and objects of falſe adoration, is guilty of no other crime, than that of diſturbing erroneous conſciences: Nor need ſuch conſciences be much diſturbed, ſince the crime being committed without their conſent, they have no ſhare in it. And therefore if ſuch idolatrous images, and ſuch ſuperſtitious, uſeleſs, and pernicious riches be taken away by a lawful authority, or in a lawful war, it is no crime at all. So that in every ſenſe *Brennus* committed a greater crime in plundering one village, than he could have committed had he plundered, as he intended, the Temple of *Delphos*.

THE PROGRESS OF TAXATION.

From the Morning Chronicle.

WHEN the common people of any ſtate can ſupply the exorbitant demands of their Prince no longer, the eſtates of the Nobility will be the next reſource, and like the maſtiff dog in the beehive, when he has ſucked up all the honey, he

he will ſwallow the comb; and then the greater part of Europe will be in the condition of Turkey, —moſt of its Princes will be ſole proprietors of the land, as they now make themſelves of its produce, which is very near the ſame thing. When the tenants exhauſted by taxes, are unable to pay rent, the land yielding no profit, is as bad as none, and in ſome inſtances worſe than none, as we are particularly told by the noble author of the account of Denmark, where ſome landlords have begged of the King, upon their knees, to eaſe them of their land, by taking it from them for good and all, for it was taxed more than it was worth.

A LETTER AGAINST BRIBERY, AND ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT.

From Algernon Sidney to his Friends, in anſwer to theirs, perſuading his return to England.

SIR,

I AM ſorry I cannot in all things conform myſelf to the advices of my friends; if theirs had any joint concernment with mine, I would willingly ſubmit my intereſt to theirs, but when I alone am intereſted, and they only adviſe to come over as ſoon as the act of indemnity is paſſed, becauſe they think it is beſt for me, I cannot wholly lay aſide my own judgment and choice. I confeſs we are naturally inclined to delight in our own country, and I have a particular love to mine; I hope I have given ſome teſtimony of it; I think that being exiled from it is a great evil, and would redeem myſelf from it with the loſs of a great deal of my blood: but when that country of mine, which uſed to be eſteemed a paradiſe, is now like to be made a ſtage of injury, the liberty which we hoped to eſtabliſh,

oppreſſed, all manner of profaneneſs, looſeneſs, luxury and lewdneſs ſet up in its height; inſtead of the piety, virtue, ſobriety, and modeſty, which we hoped God, by our hands would have introduced, the beſt of our nation made a prey to the worſt, the parliament, court, and army corrupted, the people enſlaved, and all things vendible, and no man ſafe, but by ſuch evil and infamous means as flattery and bribery: what joy can I have in my own country in this condition? Is it a pleaſure to ſee all that I love in the world ſold and deſtroyed? Shall I renounce all my old principles, learn the vile court arts, and make my peace by bribing ſome of them? Shall their corruption and vice be my ſafety? Ah! no, better is a life among ſtrangers, than in my country upon ſuch conditions. Whilſt I live, I will endeavour to preſerve my liberty, or at leaſt not conſent to the deſtroying of it, I hope I ſhall die in the ſame principle in which I have lived, and will live no longer than they can preſerve me. I have in my life been guilty of many follies, but as I think of no meanneſs, I will not blot and defile that which is paſt, by endeavouring to provide for the future. I have ever had in my mind, that when God ſhould caſt me into ſuch a condition, as that I cannot ſave my life, but by doing an indecent thing, he ſhews me the time is come wherein I ſhould reſign it. And when I cannot live in my own country, but by ſuch means as are worſe than dying in it, I think he ſhews me, I ought to keep myſelf out of it. Let them pleaſe themſelves with making the king glorious, who think a *whole* people may juſtly be ſacrificed for the intereſt and pleaſure of *one* man and a *few* of his followers: let them rejoice in their ſubtility, who by betraying the former powers have gained the favour of this, not only preſerved but advanced themſelves in theſe dangerous changes. Nevertheleſs (perhaps) they may find the king's glory is their ſhame, his plenty

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the people's miſery: and that the gaining of an office, or a little money is a *poor* reward for deſtroying a nation! (which if it were preſerved in liberty and virtue, would truly be the moſt glorious in the world) and that others may find they have with much pains purchaſed their own ſhame and miſery, a dear price paid for that which is not worth keeping, nor the life that is accompanied with it; the honour of Engliſh Parliaments have ever been in making the nation glorious and happy, not in ſelling and deſtroying the intereſt of it, to ſatisfy the luſts of one man. *Miſerable Nation*, that from ſo great a height of glory is fallen into the moſt deſpicable condition in the world, of having all its good depending upon the breath and will of the vileſt perſons in it! *cheated* and *ſold* by them they truſt, *infamous traffick*, equal almoſt in guilt to that of Judas. In all preceding ages Parliaments have been the pillars of our liberty, the ſure defenders of the oppreſſed: They who formerly could bridle kings, and keep the balance equal between them and the people, are now become the inſtruments of all our oppreſſions, and a ſword in his hand to deſtroy us: They themſelves, led by a few intereſted perſons, who are willing to buy offices, for themſelves by the miſery of the whole nation, and the blood of the moſt worthy and eminent perſons in it. Deteſtable bribes, worſe than the oaths now in faſhion in this mercenary court! I mean to owe neither my life nor liberty to any ſuch means, when the innocence of my actions will not protect me, I will ſtay away till the ſtorm be overpaſſed. In ſhort, where *Vane*, *Lambert* and *Haſlerigg* cannot live in ſafety, I cannot live at all. If I had been in England, I ſhould have expected a lodging with them; or though they may be the firſt, as being more eminent than I, I muſt expect to follow their example in ſuffering, as I have been their companion in acting. I am moſt in a maze at the miſtaken

informations that were ſent to me by my friends, full of expectations of favours, and employments. Who can think that they who impriſon them would employ me, or ſuffer me to live when they are put to death! If I might live and be employed, can it be expected that I ſhould ſerve a government that ſeeks ſuch deteſtable ways of eſtabliſhing itſelf? Ah! no, I have not learned to make my own peace, by *perſecuting* and *betraying* my brethren, more innocent and more worthy than myſelf: I muſt live by *juſt means*, and ſerve to *juſt ends*, or *not at all*, after ſuch a manifeſtation of the ways by which it is intended the king ſhall govern, I ſhould have renounced any place of favour into which the kindneſs and induſtry of my friends might have advanced me, when I found thoſe that were better than I, were only fit to be deſtroyed. I had formerly ſome jealouſies, the fraudulent proclamation for indemnity encreaſed the impriſoning of thoſe three men, and turning out of all the officers of the army, contrary to promiſe, confirmed me in my reſolutions not to return.

To conclude, the tide is not to be diverted, nor the oppreſſed delivered; but God in his time, will have mercy on his People; he will ſave and defend them, and avenge the blood of thoſe who ſhall now periſh, upon the heads of thoſe, who in their pride, think nothing is able to oppoſe them. Happy are thoſe whom God ſhall make inſtruments of his juſtice in ſo bleſſed a work. If I can live to ſee that day, I ſhall be ripe for the grave, and able to ſay with joy, Lord! now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace, &c. (So Sir Arthur Haſlerigg on Oliver's death.) Farewel, my thoughts as to king and ſtate, depending upon their actions. No man ſhall be a more faithful ſervant to him than I,

if

if he make the good and prosperity of his people his glory, none more his enemy if he doth the contrary. To my particular friends I shall be constant on all occasions, and to you,

A most affectionate Servant,

A. SIDNEY.

AN OLD BRITISH SONG,

WHEN THE ROMANS RULED THE LAND.

LONG may great Cæsar live,
To him your treasure give,
Gen'rous and free!
His feelings are so tough,
You ne'er can give enough;
Why keep ye back the stuff?
Rebels ye be.

See, on the gold so fair,
His graceful picture there,
Which as you view,
Worship—and let it be
Sent to his Treasury;
Send it to him, that he
May worship too!

You have a house and bed,
And you are clothed and fed,
Temp'rate and bare;
Still let it be your aim,
Pride and excess to tame,
For your kind masters claim
All you can spare.

Great Cæsar let us own
Each on his marrow bone,
Britons so true

He ſhall ride over us!
Happy and glorious,
For ne'er victorious
Rebels ye knew.

Cheer up each mournful face,
See what a hopeful race,
Now all alive!
O how it ſwells the ſong!
Princes ſo young ſo ſtrong,
Might draw a dray along,
Ready to drive.

Long live our NOBLE King,
To him your treaſure bring,
Gen'rous and free!
Let it our hearts elate,
Still to ſupport the great—
Proud of our low eſtate
Still let us be!

A *VINDICATION OF* BRUTUS,

For having killed CÆSAR.

[From CATO's Letters.]

CÆSAR had uſurped the *Roman* world, and was cantoning it out to his creatures as became a tyrant, and paying his perſonal favourites with the public bounty. As the worſt tyrants muſt have ſome friend; and as the beſt men do aheim the moſt credit, and bring them the moſt ſupport if ſuch can be got: *Cæſar* had ſenſe enough to know, that he could never buy *Brutus* too dear, and ſo paid him great court. But *Brutus* ſaw the tyrant's deſign, and his own ſhame; and every civility was a freſh provocation. It was as if a thief breaking

breaking into a houſe to rob a lady of her jewels, ſpoke thus to her ſon: *Sir, pray permit me, or aſſiſt me to cut your mother's throat, and ſeize her treaſure and I will generouſly reward you with your life, and lend you one or two of her diamonds to ſparkle in as long as I think fit.* Could ſuch a villainous civility as this engage the ſon, eſpecially a virtuous ſon, to any thing but revenge? And would not the only way that he could take it, be the beſt way?

Cæſar took from *Brutus* his liberty, and his legal title to his life and his eſtate, and gave him in lieu of it a precarious one during his own arbitrary will and pleaſure. Upon the ſame terms he gave him ſome mercenary employments, as hire for that great man's aſſiſtance to ſupport his tyranny. Could the great and free ſoul of *Brutus* brook this? Could *Brutus* be the inſtrument or confederate of lawleſs luſt? *Brutus* receive wages from an oppreſſor! That great, virtuous, and popular *Brutus:* who, if the commonwealth had ſubſiſted, might from his reputation, birth, abilities, and his excellent worth, have challenged the moſt honourable and advantageous offices in it, without owing thanks to *Caeſar.*

So that the injuries done by *Caeſar* to *Brutus* were great, heinous, and many; and the favours none. All the mercy ſhewn by *Caeſar* was art and affectation, and pure ſelf-love. He had found in the *Roman* people ſo univerſal a deteſtation of the bloody meaſures of *Marius, Cinna,* and *Sylla.* He ſaw the whole empire ſo reduced and enervated by repeated proſcriptions and maſſacres, that he thought it his intereſt to eſtabliſh his new-erected dominion by different meaſures; and to reconcile, by a falſe and hypocritical ſhew of clemency, the minds of men, yet bleeding with the late and former wounds, to his uſurpation, that *Caeſar,* the uſurping and deſtructive *Caeſar,* who had ſlaughtered millions. and wantonly made havock of human race, had any other ſort of mercy, than the mercy

of policy and deceit, will not be pretended by any man, that knows his and the *Roman* ſtory.

Brutus therefore being the moſt reverenced and popular man in *Rome*, it became the craft of the tyrant to make *Brutus* his friend; it was adding a ſort of ſanctity to a wicked cauſe. Whereas the death of *Brutus* by *Caeſar* would have made *Caeſar* odious and dreadful even amongſt his own followers.

But it is ſaid, that *Brutus* ſubmitted to *Caeſar*, and was bound by his own act. Here the allegation is true, but the conſequence falſe. Did not *Brutus* ſubmit to *Caeſar*, as innocent men are often forced to ſubmit to the gallies, the wheel, and the gibbet? He ſubmitted as a man robbed and bound, ſubmits to a houſe-breaker, who with a piſtol at his heart, forces from him a diſcovery of his treaſure, and a promiſe not to proſecute him. Such engagements are not only void in themſelves, but aggravate the injuries, by the law of nature and reaſon, as well as by the poſitive inſtitutions of every country, all promiſes, bonds, or oaths, extorted by dureſs, that is, by unlawful impriſonments or menaces, are not obligatory. It is, on the contrary, a crime to fulfil them; becauſe an acquieſcence in the impoſitions of lawleſs villains, is abetting lawleſs villains.

Beſides it was not in the power of *Brutus* to alter his allegiance, which he had already engaged to the Commonwealth, which had done nothing to forfeit the ſame. For how lawful ſoever it be for ſubjects to transfer their obedience to a conqueror in foreign war, when the former civil power can no longer protect them; or to a new magiſtrate made by conſent, when the old had forfeited or reſigned: It is ridiculous to ſuppoſe, that they can transfer it to a domeſtic traitor and robber; who is under the ſame ties and allegiance with themſelves, and by all acts of violence, treaſon, and

and uſurpation, extorts a ſubmiſſion from his oppreſſed maſters and fellow ſubjects. At leaſt ſuch allegiance can never be re-engaged, whilſt any means in nature are left to rid the world of ſuch a monſter.

It is a poor charge againſt *Brutus* that *Caeſar* intended him for his heir and ſucceſſor. *Brutus* ſcorned to ſucceed a tyrant. And what more glorious for *Brutus*, than thus to own that the dangerous and bewitching proſpect of the greateſt power that ever mortal man poſſeſſed, could not ſhake the firm and virtuous heart of *Brutus*, nor corrupt his integrity? To own that no perſonal conſiderations, not even the higheſt upon earth, could reconcile him to a tyrant; and that he preferred the liberty of the world to the empire of the world!

The above charges therefore againſt *Brutus*, can hardly come from any but thoſe, who, like the profane and ſaviſh *Eſau*, would ſell their birthright for a meſs of pottage, would ſacrifice their duty to their intereſt; and, unconcerned what becomes of the reſt of mankind, would promote tyranny, if they might but ſhine in its trappings. But an honeſt mind, a mind great and virtuous, ſcorns and hates all ambition, but that of doing good to men, and to *all* men; it deſpiſes momentary riches, and ill-gotten power; it enjoys no vicious and *hard-hearted* pleaſures, ariſing from the miſeries of others. But it wiſhes and endeavours to procure impartial, diffuſive, and univerſal happineſs to the *whole* earth.

This is the character of a great and good mind; and this was the great and ſublime ſoul of the immortal *Brutus*.

EXCELLENT

EXCELLENT BRUTUS! OF ALL HUMAN RACE,
The best! Cowley.

A memorable Letter from Brutus to Cicero.

I HAVE ſeen by the favour of *Atticus*, that part which concerns me, in your letter to *Octavius*. The affection which you there expreſs for my perſon, and the pains which you take for my ſafety, are great; but they give me no new joy. Your kind offices are become as habitual for me to receive, as for you to beſtow; and by your daily diſcourſe and actions in my behalf, I have daily inſtances of your generous regard for myſelf and my reputation.

However, all this hinders not but that the above-mentioned article of your letters to *Octavius*, pierced me with as ſenſible a grief as my ſoul is capable of feeling. In thanking him for his ſervices to the republic, you have choſen a ſtile which ſhews ſuch lowneſs and ſubmiſſion, as do but too clearly declare that you have ſtill a maſter; and that the old tyranny, which we thought deſtroyed, is revived in a new tyrant. What ſhall I ſay to you upon this ſad head? I am covered with confuſion for your ſhameful condition, but you have brought it upon yourſelf; and I cannot help ſhewing you to yourſelf in this wretched circumſtance.

You have petitioned *Octavius* to have mercy upon me, and to ſave my life——In this you intend my good, but ſought my miſery, and a lot worſe than death, by ſaving me from it; ſince there is no kind of death but is more eligible to me, than a life ſo ſaved. Be ſo good to recollect a little the terms of your letter; and having weighed them as you ought, can you deny that they are conceived in the low ſtile of an humble petition from a ſlave to his haughty lord, from a ſubject to a king? You tell *Octavius* that you have a requeſt to make him, and hope that he will pleaſe to grant it; namely to ſave thoſe citizens

citizens who are eſteemed by men of condition, and beloved by the people of Rome. This is your honourable requeſt; but what if he ſhould not grant it, but refuſe to ſave us? Can we be ſaved by no other expedient; Certainly, deſtruction itſelf is preferable to life by his favour.

I am not, however, ſo deſponding, as to imagine that heaven is ſo offended with the *Roman* people, or ſo bent upon their ruin, that you ſhould thus chuſe in your prayers; to apply rather to *Octavius*, than to the immortal Gods, for the preſervation, I do not ſay of the deliverers of the whole earth, but even for the preſervation of the meaneſt *Roman* citizen. This is a high tone to talk in, but I have pleaſure in it: It becomes me to ſhew that *I ſcorn to pray to thoſe whom I ſcorn to fear.*

Has then *Octavius* power to ſave us? and while you thus own him to be a tyrant, can you yet own yourſelf his friend? And while you are mine, can you deſire to ſee me in *Rome* and at the mercy of an uſurper? And yet that this would be my caſe, you avow by imploring from a giddy boy, my permiſſion to return, you have been rendering him a world of thanks, and making him many compliments; pray how came they to be due to him, if he yet want to be petitioned for our lives, and if our liberties depend upon his ſufferance? Are we bound to think it a condeſcenſion in *Octavius*, that he chuſes that theſe our petitions ſhould rather be made to him than to *Anthony*? And are not ſuch low ſupplications the proper addreſſes to a tyrant? And yet ſhall we, who boldly deſtroyed one, be ever brought baſely to ſupplicate another? And can we who are the deliverers of the Commonwealth, deſcend to aſk what no man ought to have it in his power to give?

Conſider the mournful effects of that dread and deſpondency of yours, in our public ſtruggle, in which, however, you have too many to keep you in

in countenance. *The Commonwealth has been loſt, becauſe it was given for loſt.* Hence Cæſar was firſt inſpired with the luſt of dominion; hence *Mark Anthony*, not terrified by the doom of the tyrant, pants and hurries on to ſucceed him in his tyranny: and hence this *Octavius*, this green uſurper, is ſtarted into ſuch a pitch of power, that the chiefs of the commonwealth, and the ſaviours of their country, muſt depend for their breath upon his pleaſure. Yes, we muſt owe our lives to the mercy of a minor, ſoftened by the prayers of aged ſenators.

Alas, we are no longer *Romans!* If we were, the virtuous ſpirit of liberty would have been an eaſy over-match for the traiterous attempts of the worſt of all men graſping after tyranny; nor would even *Mark Anthony*, the raſh and enterpriſing *Mark Anthony*, have been ſo fond of *Cæſar*'s power, as frightened by *Cæſar*'s fate.

Remember the important character which you ſuſtain, the great poſt which you have filled. You are a ſenator of *Rome*, you have been conſul of *Rome*; you have defeated conſpiracies, you have deſtroyed conſpirators. Is not *Rome* ſtill as dear to you as ſhe was? Or, is your courage and vigilance leſs? And is not the occaſion greater? Or, could you ſuppreſs great traitors, and yet tolerate greater? Recollect what you ought to do, by what you have done. Whence proceeded your enmity to *Anthony*? Was it not that he had an enmity to liberty, had ſeized violently on the public, aſſumed the diſpoſal of life and death into his own hands, and ſet up for the ſole ſovereign of all men? Were not theſe the reaſons of your enmity and of your advice to combat violence by violence, to kill him rather than ſubmit to him? All this was well, but why muſt reſiſtance be dropped, when there is a freſh call for reſiſtance? Has your courage failed you; or, was it not permitted to *Anthony* to enſlave us, but another may? As if the nature of ſervitude

vitude were changed by changing names and perſons. No, we do not diſpute about the qualifications of a maſter; we will have *no* maſter.

It is certain, that we might, under *Anthony*, have had large ſhares with him in the adminiſtration of deſpotic power; we might have divided its dignities, and ſhone in its trappings. He would have received us graciouſly, and met us half way. He knew that either our concurrence or acquieſcence would have confirmed him monarch of *Rome*; and at what price would he not have purchaſed either? But all his arts, all his temptations, all his offers were rejected, liberty was our purpoſe, virtue our rule: Our views were honeſt and univerſal; our country and the cauſe of mankind.

With *Octavius* himſelf there is ſtill a way open for an accommodation, if we choſe it. As eager as the name of *Cæſar* has made that raw ſtickler for empire, to deſtroy thoſe who deſtroyed *Cæſar*; yet, doubtleſs, he would give us good articles, to gain our conſent to that power to which he aſpires, and to which I fear, he will atrive; alas! what is there to hinder him? While we only attend to the love of life, and the impulſes of ambition, while we can purchaſe poſts and dignities with the price of liberty, and think danger more dreadful than ſlavery; what remains to ſave us?

What was the end of our killing the tyrant, but to be free from tyranny?—A ridiculous motive, and an empty exploit, if our ſlavery ſurvive him! Oh, who is it that makes liberty his care? Liberty, which ought to be the care of all men, as it is the benefit and bleſſing of all! For myſelf rather than give it up, I will ſtand ſingle in its defence, I cannot loſe, but with my life, my reſolution to maintain in freedom my country which I have ſet free: I have deſtroyed a veteran tyrant; and ſhall I ſuffer in a raw youth, his heir, a power to controul the ſenate, ſuperſede the laws, and put chains

on *Rome*? A power which no perſonal favours nor even the ties of blood could ever ſanctify to me; a power, which I could not bear in *Cæſar*; nor if my father had uſurped it, could I have borne him.

Your petition to *Octavius* is a confeſſion that we cannot enjoy the liberty of Rome without his leave; and can you dream that other citizens are free, where we could not live free? Beſides, having made your requeſt, how is it to be fulfilled? You beg him to give us our lives; and what if he do? Are we therefore ſafe becauſe we live? Is there any ſafety without liberty; or rather, can we poorly live having loſt it, and with it our honour and glory? is there any ſecurity in living at *Rome* when *Rome* is no longer free? That city, great as it is having no ſecurity of her own, can give me none——No, I will owe mine to my reſolution and my ſword; I cannot enjoy life at the mercy of another; *Cæſar*'s death alone aſcertained my liberty to me, which before was precarious: I ſmote him to be ſafe. This is a Roman ſpirit, and whitherſoever I carry it, every place will be *Rome* to me, who am *Roman* enough to prefer every evil to chains and infamy, which to a Roman are the higheſt of all evils. I thought that we had been releaſed from theſe mighty evils, by the death of him who brought them upon us; but it ſeems that we are not; elſe why a ſervile petition to a youth, big with the name and the ambition of *Cæſar*, for mercy to thoſe patriots, who generouſly revenged their country upon that tyrant, and cleared the world of his tyranny? It was not thus in the Commonwealths of *Greece* where the children of tyrants ſuffered equally with their fathers, the puniſhment of tyranny.

Can I then have any appetite to ſee *Rome* or, can *Rome* be ſaid to be *Rome*? We have ſlain our tyrant, we have reſtored our ancient liberty: But they

they are favours thrown away; ſhe is made free in ſpite of herſelf; and though ſhe has ſeen a great and terrible tyrant bereft of his grandeur and his life, by a few of her citizens; yet baſely deſponding of her own ſtrength, ſhe impotently dreads the name of a dead tyrant, revived in the perſon of a ſtripling.

No more of your petitions to your young *Caeſar* on my behalf; nor, if you are wiſe, on your own. You have not many years to live; do not be ſhewing that you over-rate the ſhort remains of an honourable life, by making prepoſterous and diſhonourable court to a boy. Take care that by this conduct you do not eclipſe the luſtre of all your glorious actions againſt *Mark Anthony:* Do not turn your glory into reproach, by giving the malicious a handle to ſay, that ſelf-love was the ſole motive of your bitterneſs to him; and that, had you not dreaded him, you would not have oppoſed him: And yet will they not ſay this, if they ſee that having declared war againſt *Anthony*, you notwithſtanding have life and liberty at the mercy of *Octavius*, and tolerate in him all the power which the other claimed? They will ſay that you are not againſt having a maſter, only you would not have Anthony for a maſter.

I will approve of your praiſes given to *Octavius* for his behaviour thus far; it is indeed praiſe worthy; provided his only intention has been to pull down the tyranny of *Anthony*, without eſtabliſhing a tyranny of his own. But if you are of opinion that *Octavius* is in ſuch a ſituation of power, that it is neceſſary to approach him with humble ſupplications to ſave our lives and that it is convenient he ſhould be truſted with this power; I can only ſay, that you lift the reward of his merits, far above his merits: I thought that all his ſervices were ſervices done to the republic, but you have conferred upon him that abſolute and imperial power which he pretended to recover to the republic.

If, in your judgment, *Octavius* has earned ſuch laurels and recompences for making war again *Anthony*'s tyranny, which was only the effects and remains of *Caeſar*'s tyranny; to what diſtinctions, to what rewards would you entitle thoſe who exterminated, with *Caeſar*, the tyranny of *Caeſar*, for which they felt the bleſſings and bounty of the *Roman* people? Has this never entered into your thoughts? Behold here, how effectually the terror of evils to come, extinguiſhes in the minds all impreſſions of benefits received! *Cæſar* is dead, and will never return to ſhackle or frighten the City of *Rome*; ſo he is no more thought of, nor are they, who delivered that City from him. But *Anthony* is ſtill alive, and ſtill in arms, and ſtill terrifies; and ſo *Octavius* is adored, who beat *Anthony*. Hence it is that *Octavius* is become of ſuch potent conſequence, that from his mouth the *Roman* people muſt expect our doom, the doom of their deliverers! And hence it is too that we (thoſe deliverers) are of ſuch humble conſequence, that he muſt be ſupplicated to give us our lives!

I, as ſaid, have a ſoul, and I have a ſword; and am an enemy to ſuch abject ſupplications; ſo great an enemy, that I deteſt thoſe that uſe them, and am an avowed foe to him that expects them. I ſhall at leaſt be far away from the odious company of ſlaves; and wherever I find liberty, there I will find *Rome*. And for you that ſtay behind, who not ſatiated with many years, and many honours, can behold liberty extinct, and virtue with us, in exile, and yet are not ſick of a wretched and precarious life; I heartily pity you. For myſelf, whoſe ſoul has never ebbed from its conſtant principles, I ſhall ever be happy in the conſciouſneſs of my virtue; owing nothing to my country, towards which I have faithfully diſcharged my duty, I ſhall poſſeſs my mind in peace, and find the reward of well-doing in the ſatisfaction of having done

done it. What greater pleaſure does the world afford, than to deſpiſe the ſlippery uncertainties of life, and to value that only which is valuable, private virtue, and public liberty; that libertywhich is the bleſſing, and ought to be the birth-right of all mankind?

But ſtill, I will never ſink with thoſe who are already falling; I will never yield with thoſe who have a mind to ſubmit: I am reſolved to be always firm and independent; I will try all expedients; I will exert my utmoſt proweſs, to baniſh ſervitude and ſet my country entirely free. If fortune favours me as ſhe ought, the bleſſing and joy will be every man's; but if ſhe fail me, and my beſt endeavours be thrown away, yet ſtill I will rejoice ſingle; and ſo far be too hard for fortune. What, in ſhort, can my life be better laid out in, than in continual ſchemes, and repeated efforts, for the common liberty of my country?

As to your part in this criſis, my dear *Cicero*, it is my ſtrongeſt advice and requeſt to you, not to deſert yourſelf; do not diſtruſt your ability, and your ability will not diſappoint you; believe you can remedy our heavy evils, and you will remedy them. Our miſeries want no increaſe; prevent, therefore, by your vigilance, any new acceſſion. Formerly in quality of conſul, you defeated, with great boldneſs and warmth for liberty, a formidable conſpiracy againſt *Rome*, and ſaved the commonwealth; and what you did then againſt *Cataline*, you do ſtill againſt *Anthony*. Theſe actions of yours have raiſed your reputation high, and ſpread it far; but it will be all tarniſhed or loſt, if you do not continue to ſhew an equal firmneſs upon as great an occaſion; let this render all the parts of your life equal, and ſecure immortality to that glory of yours, which ought to be immortal.

From thoſe, who, like you, have performed great actions, as great or greater are expected;

by ſhewing that they can ſerve the public, they make themſelves its debtors; and it is apt to exact ſtrict payment, and to uſe them ſeverely, if they do not pay. But from thoſe who have performed no ſuch actions, we expect none. This is the difference betwixt the lot of unknown talents, and of thoſe which have been tried; and the condition of the latter is no doubt the harder. Hence it is, that though in making head againſt *Anthony*, you have merited and received great and juſt praiſes, yet you have gained no new admiration: By ſo doing you only continued, like a worthy conſular, the known character of a great and able conſul. But if now at laſt you begin to truckle to one as bad as he; if you abate ever ſo little in that vigour of mind, and that ſteady courage, by which you expelled him from the ſenate, and drove him out of *Rome*; you will never reap another harveſt of glory, whatever you may deſerve; and even your paſt laurels will wither, and your paſt renown be forgot.

There is nothing great or noble in events, which are the fruit of paſſion or chance. True fame reſults only from the ſteady perſeverance of reaſon in the paths and purſuits of virtue. The care, therefore, of the commonwealth, and the defence of her liberties, belong to you above all men, becauſe you have done more than all men for liberty, and the commonwealth. Your great abilities, your known zeal, your famous actions, with the united call and expectation of all men, are your motives in this great affair; would you have greater?

You are not therefore to ſupplicate *Octavius* for our ſafety; do a braver thing, owe it to your own magnanimity. Rouſe the *Roman* genius within you; and conſider that this great and free city, which you more than once ſaved, will always be great and free, provided her people do not want worthy chiefs to reſiſt uſurpation, and exterminate traitors.

A SONG

A SONG.

Tune ——— "RULE BRITANNIA."

When BRITAIN firſt impelled by pride,
Uſurp'd dominion o'er the main,
Bleſt peace, ſhe vainly threw aſide,
And gave her ſons the galling chain.

View Britannia, Britannia view the waves,
On which thy darling ſons are ſlaves.

The nations now more bleſt than thee,
Shall ſee their haughty deſpots fall,
What time thy hapleſs fate ſhall be,
The ſcorn and pity of them all.

View, &c.

Thy haughty——ne'er ſhall bend,
The glorious cauſe of FREEDOM down,
His rage ſhall fan her ſacred flame,
And work thy woes and her renown.

View, &c.

Thee beſt becomes the contrite ſtrain,
For cities drench'd with human gore,
For crimes which tinge the orient main,
And baniſh peace from AFRIC'S ſhore.

View, &c.

The muſes ſtill with freedom found,
Shall from thy venal court repair,
To ſing on GALLIA'S fre'er ground,
Or breathe Columbia's purer air.

View, &c.

R. H.

New-York, Dec. 3. 1793.

Nor

Nor let *half Patriots* (thoſe,
Who ſhrink from every blaſt of power which blows,
Who with tame cowardice familiar grown,
Would hear my thoughts, but fear to ſpeak their own,
Who, leſt bold truths, to do ſage prudence ſpite,
Should burſt the portals of their lips by night,
Tremble to truſt themſelves one hour aſleep.)
Condemn our courſe, and hold our caution cheap,
When brave occaſion bids, for ſome *great end*,
When honour calls the poet as a friend,
Then ſhall they find, that even on danger's brink,
He dares to ſpeak, what they ſcarce dare to think.

CHURCHILL.

THE MARINE REPUBLIC.

A Certain man having many ſons all bred to a ſeafaring life, was deſirous that they ſhould live together in a juſt, brotherly, and ſocial manner; and that though he wiſhed to encourage individual induſtry, and improvement in abilities, by providing that every one ſhould reap the fruits of the ſame, yet was he determined to form their plan of union in ſuch a manner that none, not even their children, ſhould be ſo depreſſed as to be excluded from the common benefits of their birth-right and of an equal token of the impartial regard of their common parent. Wherefore one day having called his ſons together, he addreſſed them to this effect. "My dear boys, my beha-
"viour and conduct towards you, has always been
"ſuch as to convince you, I was ſtrictly, juſt, and
"impartial. You were all equally my delight and
"care in your infancy, you have been equally
"provided with the means of education, and
"with every comfort and convenience. I have
"ſhewn

" ſhewn no partiality to any, as being older or
" younger, I have been in all reſpects your common
" parent, and I wiſh you and your children to
" live together as my common children for ever,
" for I extend my parental regard to your offspring
" through every generation——Behold, then, this
" gallant ſhip, equipt and provided with every
" thing neceſſary for ſea, her rigging and tackle
" all of the beſt materials, and admirably adapted
" to the ocean you have to occupy; amply provid-
" ed with ſtores and proviſions for a long voyage,
" and waiting only for intelligent and ſkilful
" agents to conduct her whitherſoever they will.
" You my dear boys, are ſuch agents, ſufficiently
" qualified for the adventurous taſk. *Accept, then*
" *my ſons of this my precious gift, but remember, I do*
" *not give it to one, or two, or a ſelect few, but to you*
" *all, and as many of your poſterity as ſhall fail therein,*
" *as a* COMMON PROPERTY *You ſhall be all* EQUAL
" OWNERS, *and ſhall ſhare the profits of every voyage*
" *equally among you.* You ſhall chuſe from among
" yourſelves, one fit to be captain, another to be
" mate, another carpenter, &c.——Theſe officers
" ſhall continue in office while you pleaſe, and
" and when you pleaſe you ſhall change them for
" others, that your affairs may be conducted in
" the beſt manner poſſible. At the end of the voy-
" age, or at other ſtated times agreed upon, you
" ſhall ſettle your accounts; and after paying the
" captain, the mate, and every other officer and
" man his wages, according to ſtation and agree-
" ment, and all bills for upholding wear and tear,
" proviſions, &c. then the remainder, which is
" the neat profit of the voyage, and which would
" been mine had I retained the property of the
" ſhip in my own hands, is now *your* common
" property, and muſt be ſhared eqnally among
" you all, without reſpect to any office any
" any one may have held. For as I make you all

" equal

" equal owners, ſo ſhall you be equal ſharers in
" the profits of each voyage. You are all equal
" to me, and you ſhall be all equal in this reſpect
" to each other. Let not the captain, who re-
" ceives the wages of a captain, or any other offi-
" cer, who receives the wages of his ſtation, mur-
" mer that his brethren before the maſt, and who
" receive only the wages of common men, ſhould
" receive ſhare and ſhare alike with himſelf of the
" profits. No my dear children, let no ſuch un-
" juſt and unbrotherly grudging ever he found
" among you.

" Again my ſons, as I have been juſt and im-
" partial to you, be ye the ſame to *your* children.
" And when they ſhall multiply ſo that you can-
" not all ſail together in the ſame veſſel, provide
" another ſhip out of your common profits, for
" ſuch of yourſelves and your ſons as ſhall chuſe
" to ſail together, which ſhall be their common
" property in the ſame manner as this ſhip is
" yours. This do, and live like men and brethren
" through all generations. And as a ſwarm of
" bees, when grown too numerous for one hive,
" ſend off colonies to people new ones, ſo when
" the crews of your ſhips become too numerous,
" let new ſhips be built, and manned on the ſame
" equitable plan that I have done, and my bleſſing
" go with you.".

Theſe injunctions were received by the young men with inexpreſſible joy. And having wrote them, they were called the conſtitution of their MARINE REPUBLIC, and ſwore to maintain them inviolate to the end of time. They then choſe a captain, and other officers, and proceeded on a trading voyage, and being proſperous they ſhared very conſiderable dividends both at the end of this and many future voyages.

In proceſs of time, however, it ſo happened that theſe marine republicans were diſſatisfied with the

the government of the country, in which they reſided. Wherefore taking all their families and all their effects on board, they ſet ſail for America, where they expected to ſee government adminiſtered more agreeably to their notions of equality and equity. But a violent ſtorm ariſing, they were driven far out of their courſe, and at laſt arrived at an uninhabited iſland of a luxurious ſoil, and an agreeable climate. Here they gladly landed after much danger, and their ſhip being ſo damaged as to be no more fit for ſea, they determined to ſettle on the iſland. The ſhip was now broke up, and houſes built with the materials, and preparations were made to cultivate the ſoil, as they muſt now think of living by gardening and agriculture. But they foreſaw that if they did not apply the Marine Conſtitution, given them by their father, to their landed property, they would ſoon experience inexpreſſible inconveniences. They therefore declared the property of the iſland to be the property of them all collectively in the ſame manner as the ſhip had been, and that they ought to ſhare the profits thereof in the ſame way. The iſland they named Spenſonia, after the name of the ſhip which their father had given them. They next choſe officers to mark out ſuch portions of land, as every perſon or family deſired to occupy, for which they were to receive for the uſe of the public, a certain rent according to its value. This rent was applied to public uſes, or divided among themſelves as they thought proper, But in order to keep up the remembrance of their rights, they decreed that they ſhould never fail to ſhare at rent-time, an equal dividend though ever ſo ſmall, and though public demands ſhould be ever ſo urgent.

They now ſpread conſiderably over the country, and houſes and workſhops were built at the public expence. The ſpace inhabited became too extenſive for one diſtrict, wherefore they divided it into many

many, and called them parishes. As they had determined, when seamen, that every succeeding ship they should build, and man, should, according to their father's maxim, be the property of the crew, so, in conformity therewith, they decreed, that every district or parish which they should people, should be the property of the inhabitants, and the rents and police of the same at their disposal. Thus they live in union and equality on land, as their father intended they should do on sea, and frame and people new parishes at the public expence, as he designed they should build new ships. A national assembly or congress consisting of delegates from all the parishes, takes care of their national concerns, and defrays the expences of state, and matters of common utility, by a pound rate from each parish, without any other tax.

A LESSON FOR LEGISLATORS AND PEOPLE.

From the Querist, by the Bishop of Cloyne.

WHETHER frugal fashions in the upper rank, and comfortable living in the lower, be not the means to multiply the inhabitants?

Provided the wheels move, whether it is not the same thing, as to the effect of the machine, be this done by the force of wind, or water, or animals?

Whether a single hint be sufficient to overcome a prejudice? and, whether even obvious truths will not sometimes bear repeating?

Whether a country inhabited by a people well fed, clothed, and lodged, would not become every day more populous? and, whether a numerous stock of people, in such circumstances, would not constitute a flourishing nation; and how far the pro-

product of our own country may ſuffice for the compaſſing this end?

Whether a people, who had provided themſelves with the neceſſaries of life in good plenty, would not ſoon extend their induſtry to new arts, and new branches of commerce?

Whether it be not a ſure ſign, or effect of a country's thriving, to ſee it well cultivated and full of inhabitants?

Whether large farms under few hands, or ſmall ones under many, are likely to be made moſt of?

Whether a woman of faſhion ought not to be declared a public enemy?

When the root yieldeth inſufficient nouriſhment, whether men do not top the tree to make the lower branches thrive?

Whether the vanity and luxury of a few, ought to ſtand in competition with the intereſt of a nation?

Whether hungry cattle will not leap over bounds?

Whether every enemy to learning is not a Goth? and whether every ſuch Goth among us be not an enemy to the country?

Whether, therefore, it would not be an omen of ill preſage, a dreadful phenomenon in the land, if our great men ſhould take it into their heads to deride learning and education?

Whether we may not with better grace ſit down and complain, when we have done all in our power to help ourſelves?

Whether it be not delightful to complain? and whether there be not many who had rather utter their complaints than redreſs their evils?

Whether as ſeed equally ſcattered produceth a good harveſt, even ſo an equal diſtribution of wealth does not cauſe a nation to flouriſh?

Whether it would be a great hardſhip, if every pariſh were obliged to find work for their poor?

Whether there can be a worſe ſign than that people ſhould quit their country for a livelihood? though men often leave their country for health or pleaſure, or riches, yet to leave it merely for a livelihood; Whether this be not exceeding bad, and ſheweth ſome peculiar miſmanagement?

MANKIND WILL BE MORE KNOWING THAN THEIR GOVERNORS WISH THEM.

From a Faſt-Day Sermon, by the Rev. J. Murray, of Newcaſtle, Author of *Sermons to Aſſes*. Printed in 1781.

Woe to thee O Land! when thy King is a Child, and thy Princes eat in the Morning!

Eccle. x. ver. 16.

WHEN rulers are intoxicated with ideas of power, and have their paſſions inflamed with diſſipation, they are ready to imagine that the whole community are as fooliſh as themſelves; and for that reaſon endeavour to perſuade the people that it is faction to oppoſe their meaſures, and treaſon to maintain their own rights.

Becauſe they will not miniſter to the gratification of the luſts and appetites of thoſe who want to enſlave them, they are called factious and rebellious It is impoſſible that reaſon can demand, that government which was inſtituted for the good of ſociety, ſhould be made the greateſt evil and the heavieſt curſe. It could never be the intent of the appointment of government, that rulers ſhould have a right to diſpoſe of more than belonged to the right adminiſtration thereof. With regard to oſtentatious ſplendor, it adds nothing to the dignity of government as a moral inſtitution; for there

there is more true dignity in a magiſtrate executing juſt laws in the home-ſpun manufacture of his own country, than in one ſupporting unrighteous decrees, and arbitrary authority, dreſſed in ermine, or trimmed in gold

Mankind are not in general ſo ignorant, as to ſuppoſe that pageantry and ſuperſtuity add dignity to government, and they can perceive either the fool or the villain through all the garniſhing and trappings of office. Neither the ſtar nor the garter are ſo able to dazzle their eyes, as to hinder them from perceiving the black ſpots that are underneath them, or, of diſcerning the wolf in ſheep's cloathing. Rulers fondly imagine that the people are not qualified to diſcern the injuſtice of refuſing their reaſonable requeſts, and for that reaſon ſport themſelves with their petitions and remonſtrances; but in this they diſplay more their own want of judgment than the people do want of ſenſe and underſtanding.

It is ſomewhat ſtrange that princes have not learned from experience and obſervation, that all unneceſſary expence and ſplendour in government, are only prognoſtications of the downfall of ſtates and forerunners of their ruin. The Hiſtory of the four great Monarchies, may ſerve to inſtruct all future generations of the folly of pageantry, and the unneceſſary expence in the government of nations. Luxury and diſſipation has generally produced a deſire of dominion, and made princes neglect paying a juſt regard to the complaints and grievances of their ſubjects; for they have been for the moſt part, fondeſt of dominion when they were leaſt fit to govern, and near to their downfall.

It is undoubtedly a woeful thing to a nation, to be obliged to ſupply the extravagances of men, who inſtead of ruling it with wiſdom and juſtice, ſpend the ſubſtance thereof in all the vile arts of

corruption and licentiouſneſs. And what adds to this woe is, that they charge the people with being licentious, after they have taken all the pains in their power to make them ſo.

Yet bad as the people in general may be, they would ſhudder, at the thoughts of many acts of wickedneſs that are committed by their ſuperiors. The charge of licentiouſneſs comes with an ill grace from thoſe who are living conſtantly in the tranſgreſſion of both divine and human laws, and have nothing to ſave them from puniſhment, except the partiality of government, and the indulgence of divine mercy.

With regard to the charge of faction and rebellion which arbitrary rulers bring againſt the people, it may be returned upon themſelves, where theſe crimes are oftener to be found than among the people. It muſt proceed from their not knowing what is the nature of rebellion, that they do not take the charge home to themſelves.

The prophet Iſaiah will help them to underſtand what is properly rebellion. *Thy princes are rebellious and the companions of thieves, every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards, they judge not the fatherleſs, neither does the cauſe of the widow come before them.*

A NEW SONG,

IN PRAISE OF

Our Noble King and Happy Conſtitution.

Tune——"*Malbrouk.*"

By W. D. Grant.

BRITANNIA now befriend me,
Good Britons all attend me,
Your kind aſſiſtance lend me,
Our happineſs to ſing;

Then

Then quick aſſociate,
That we may contemplate,
Our GLORIOUS REVOLUTION!
Our HAPPY CONSTITUTION!
Our BISHOPS thumping cuſhion!
And our MOST NOBLE KING!

Moſt gracious Proclamations,
With Richmond's operations,
And grand Aſſociations,
Portend ſome happy thing.
With feſtive joy elate,
Then let's commemorate,
Our Glorious Revolution!
Our Happy Conſtitution!
Our Biſhops thumping cuſhion!
And our Moſt Noble King!

Court bribery and penſions,
Which PAINE ſo rudely mentions,
Are all his own inventions,
We know there's no ſuch thing.
How vain his ſilly prate!
He tried to make us hate
Our Glorious Revolution!
Our Happy Conſtitution!
Our Biſhops thumping cuſhion!
And our Moſt noble King!

Our Commons free election
Muſt ſilence each objection;
That ſummit of perfection,
Defies pale Envy's ſting.
Nor fee or place expect,
They love, obey, reſpect,
Our Glorious Revolution!
Our Happy Conſtitution!
Our Biſhops thumping cuſhion!
And our Moſt Noble King!

Our laws—the admiration
Of all the wide creation;

And their juſt application,
A much more wond'rous thing!
So plain, diſtinct, and ſhort,
Our lawyers can't diſtort!
O Glorious Revolution!
O Happy Conſtitution!
Damnation, Proſecution!
For traitors to our King!

How ſmall is the donation,
For Biſhops avocation!
They pray for all the nation,
And Heaven's bleſſings bring:
Ten Thouſand Pounds a year,
Cannot be thought too dear!
O Glorious Revolution!
O Happy Conſtitution!
Long may they thump the cuſhion,
And cry "God ſave the King!"

Diſburthen'd of Taxation,
O joyful declaration!
From PITT's adminiſtration,
Do all our Bounties ſpring!
He's paid the nation's debt,
Which proves he don't forget
Our Glorious Revolution!
Our Happy Conſtitution!
Our Biſhops thumping cuſhion!
And our Moſt Noble King!

And now to make concluſion,
To ev'ry Sect's deluſion,
And all REFORM—confuſion;
May its Promoters ſwing!
Then fill your glaſs with me,
And give, with three times three,
Our GLORIOUS REVOLUTION!
Our HAPPY CONSTITUTION!
Our BISHOPS thumping cuſhion!
And our MOST NOBLE KING!

DUKE OF RICHMOND's LETTER.

Extract of a letter from His Grace the DUKE of RICHMOND, to the Chairman of a Meeting of the County of Suſſex, convened at Lewes, January 18, 1783, for the purpoſe of preſenting a petition to the Houſe of Commons, to take into conſideration the unequal ſtate of Repreſentation in Parliament.

"Whitehall, January 17, 1783.

"SIR,

"YOU may eaſily believe, that being one of thoſe who joined in requeſting you to call a county meeting, nothing but illneſs can prevent me attending it, and it is with infinite regret I ſubmit to the deciſion of my phyſicians, who pronounce, that it is not ſafe for me to leave London.

"I truſt that my ſentiments on the ſubject of *Parliamentary Reform*, are, in general ſufficiently known, and that, without further aſſurances, I might be *depended upon for giving it every ſupport in my power*; but ſome circumſtances make me wiſh to ſtate them as briefly as poſſible to the county of Suſſex. They are formed on the *experience of twenty-ſix years*, which, whether in or out of government, has equally convinced me, that the *Reſtoration of a genuine Houſe of Commons*, by a *renovation* of the *Rights of the People*, is the *only eſſential remedy* againſt that *ſyſtem of corruption* which has brought the nation to diſgrace and poverty, and threatens it with the *loſs of liberty*.

"I take the grievance of the preſent ſtate of election to be its *groſs inequality*. All the electors in Great Britain do not amount to *one-ſixth* part of the whole people, and a ſtill greater inequality ſubſiſts in elections made by that ſixth part; for *one-ſeventh part of them* elect a majority, ſo that *one-forty-ſecond* part of the nation, diſpoſe of the *property*

perty of the whole, and have their *lives and liberties at command*. And this forty-ſecond part far from conſiſting of the moſt opulent part of the kingdom, is compoſed of the ſmall boroughs, moſt of which are become either the private property of individuals, or are notoriouſly ſold to the beſt bidder: ſo that counties and great cities are, in fact, as well as the great maſs of the people ſwallowed up by this *ſyſtem of corruption*.

"My ideas of reform undoubtedly go to one that ſhall be *complete and general throughout the kingdom*. I ſee ſuch fatal conſequences ariſe from the preſent partial and accidental ſtate of election, that I cannot take upon me to propoſe any new mode that partakes of the ſame defects. If we do not differ from the *abettors of corruption* upon the broad principle of equality in election, and the *univerſal right of the people to be repreſented*, and are contending only for a degree of partiality, more or leſs I fear our ground is not ſound; if we mean only to ſubſtitute partiality for partiality, and are ſtruggling but for its extent, one man's whim may be as good as another's conceit, and we have nothing certain to direct us: and if inequality is ſtill to ſubſiſt, the advocates of the preſent ſyſtem will have the ſanction of time and the riſk of changes, to oppoſe to us, which will have their weight, when it is but for a change of partiality that we contend.

"I have thought that a *Parliamentary Reform* has much more ſimple and unerring guides to lead us to our end: I mean the *true principles of the Conſtitution*, and the *Rights of the People*. If theſe exiſt, I do not conſider myſelf at liberty to ſpeculate upon ſyſtem. I have no choice, but to give to every man his own.

"How far it is wiſe for thoſe who entirely agree in principle upon the *Rights of Men*, to endeavour to perſuade them that the *recovery of their birth-rights*,

and

and moſt eſſential intereſts, " are not reducible to practice, nor attainable by any regular or conſtitutional efforts of theirs," is what I muſt leave others to determine. But the truth of this aſſertion is what I can never ſubſcribe to. I cannot but think that this nation ever has it in its own power, by *peaceful and conſtitutional efforts, to do itſelf juſtice*; and that nothing can render attempts for this purpoſe impracticable, but either a *general indolence* an *indifference to all that requires exertion* though for the *nobleſt purpoſes*, or prejudice to favourite ſyſtems, as ſhall divide the people,

" To guard againſt ſuch an imputation falling on me, I moſt readily agree to an addreſs in the moſt general terms, not pointing to any ſpecific mode of reform in the petition, or by inſtructions to our members, or by reſolutions, but ſubmitting the remedy, as in my opinion it ought to be, in the firſt inſtance, to Parliament itſelf; which I conceive to be as equal to ſuch a conſideration as any Provincial Committee.

" Should Mr. WYVIL's firſt or ſecond plan be propoſed in Parliament, or any thing like it, although I ſhall lament that we, for a moment, quit our advantageous ground of the *Conſtitution*, and the *Rights of Men*, yet I ſhall certainly give every ſupport in my power to this or any other amendment, and it certainly will be a conſiderable improvement, that inſtead of a forty-ſecond, it ſhould be a thirty-ſixth or thirtieth part that ſhall decide the concerns of the whole people. It will be ſomething material they will have gained, and may become a ſtep to the more eaſy attainment of their privileges.

" I muſt ſincerely hope that that plan may be found attainable, but I never can conſent to tell the people, and I hope to God they never will believe, that the recovery of any right, which Nature and the Conſtitution have given them, is impracti-

cable

ble. On the contrary convinced myſelf, I wiſh them ever to believe, that whenever they pleaſe to claim, they *will* and *muſt* have the *full extent of their rights.*

" I have thought neceſſary to ſay thus much on an impreſſion, I cannot think indifferent the public ſhould entertain.

" The meaſure, for which you are aſſembled, meets with my hearty concurrence, and I ſhall be happy if theſe my ſentiments, which I beg you would communicate to the meeting of the county of Suſſex, ſhould meet with their approbation.

" It is with the higheſt eſteem and regard,

" that I have the honour to be SIR,

" Your moſt obedient, and humble ſervant,

RICHMOND, &c.

To *Wm. Franckland*, Eſq.

" High Sheriff of the county of Suſſex."

The time is now come for men to be provided with principles of practical utility.

[From a Pamphlet, entitled Sins of the Nation.]

THE courſe of events in this country has now for a number of generations for a long reach as it were of the ſtream of time run ſmooth, and our political duties have been proportionably eaſy; but it may not always be ſo. A ſudden bend may change the direction of the current, and open ſcenes leſs calm. It becomes every man, therefore to examine his principles, whether they are of that firmneſs and texture, as ſuits the occaſion, he may have for them. If we want a light gondola to float upon a ſummer lake, we look at the form and gilding; but if a veſſel to ſteer through ſtorms, we

we examine the ſtrength of the timbers, and the ſoundneſs of the bottom. We want principles not to figure in a Book of Ethies, or to delight us with "grand and ſwelling ſentiments;" but principles by which we may act, and by which we may ſuffer. Principles of benevolence, to diſpoſe us to real ſacrifices; political principles, of practical utility; principles of religion, to comfort and ſupport us under all the trying viciſſitudes we ſee around us, and which we have no ſecurity, that we ſhall be long exempt from. How many are there now ſuffering under ſuch overwhelming diſtreſſes, as a ſhort time ago, we ſhould have thought it was hardly within the verge of poſſibility that they ſhould experience! Above all let us keep our hearts pure, and our hand clean. Whatever part we take in public affairs, much will undoubtedly happen which we could by no means foreſee, and much which we ſhall not be able to juſtify; the only way therefore by which we can avoid deep remorſe, is to act with ſimplicity and ſingleneſs of intention, and not to ſuffer ourſelves to be warped, though by ever ſo little, from the path which honour and conſcience approve.

OF THE HERIDITARY NOBILITY.

By the Author of a Plea for a Commonwealth

THE third and laſt ſort of men that ſeem by their intereſt prompted to an enmity to, and oppoſition of an equal Commonwealth, is the heriditary Nobility, whoſe apprehenſions being ſwelled and elated with the greatneſs of their titles, and cheriſhing a fond opinion of the gallantry of their blood, think it below them to ſtand on an equal level with the reſt of their breth.en; I confeſs were there on the face of the earth (according to the fictions of the poets) a race of heroes that were of the kindred of *Jupiter*, and could deduce their pedi-

pedigrees from the Gods, whoſe natures had eſcaped the general pollution, or been leſs tainted with human infirmities than other mortals, whoſe bodies had been framed by *Titan*, of better clay, and a more refined mould than the reſt of the rude maſs of mankind, and whoſe parts and intellects (as its ſaid of *Saul*) were higher by the head and ſhoulders than the reſt of the people, whereby it might be evidenced nature had deſigned them unto rule and empire; there were then ſome plea, ſome ground, for that diſtinction the tyranny of cuſtom hath introduced among the children of men.

But if theſe pyramids of greatneſs were at firſt erected by the hands of monarchy, only for the better ſupport and ornament of the thrones of princes, and are, (if well underſtood) no other than golden trophies made of the ſpoils and ruins of the people's liberties; that not only in fair characters preſerve the memories of their oppreſſors, but alſo upbraid them with their former (if not preſent) ſervitude and ſlavery: I cannot but think it might much conduce to the ſecurity of the peace and liberty of the nation, to have them removed out of the people's eyes, that they may neither longer continue the objects of their envy who hate them, or by dazzling with their gawdy ſplendor, the weak eyes of fond adorers, revive and awaken the memories and deſires of what they ſometime were the appurtenances and appendix: or if they are (as by ſome pretended) the very pillars and buttreſſes of monarchy, the bulwarks and citadels of pride and tyranny, and that notwithſtanding the ſtandard of regal power be taken down†, the peace and liberty of the nation ſeems not ſufficiently ſecure, nor to have obtained a full and perfect conqueſt over oppreſſion, while any of the fortreſſes in which it hath formerly been ingarriſoned be not levelled and diſmantled; it were better that theſe ſhould abate ſomething of their

† This Book was Publiſhed in the time of the Commonwealth.

height

height and grandeur, that ſeems to over-top and threaten ruin to the public liberty, than that the nation ſhould be put in danger of relapſing into ſlavery, or to have their controverſy ſo lately decided by the umpire of heaven again diſputed in fields of blood.

Or if theſe ſwelling tumours and unhandſome wens of greatneſs do ill become the face of a commonwealth, and ſpoil the ſymmetry and beauty of its proportions; were it not better they ſhould be pared off, than our ſtate rendered of a monſtrous and prodigious ſhape? If after all our expence of blood and treaſure for purchaſe of our liberty, our title and pretenſions to a free ſtate may juſtly be called in queſtion, ſo long as we remain pupils and under wardſhip to our hereditary lords and antient guardians, is it not time we were emancipated? or if that may not in truth be admitted for an equal commonwealth, in which there is any other path known to the temple of honour, than what paſſes through that of virtue? Is it not prudence to hedge up all thoſe bye-ways of birth and fortunes? Were it not better the ſyſtem of our polity and government ſhould be plainly penned without the flouriſhes and ornaments of ſuch capitals, which being admitted, may either ſeem ſuperfluous, or through miſconſtruction endanger marring the ſenſe, or rendering the nature of our conſtitution dubious and ambiguous, than by a contrary practice miniſter occaſion of entangling men's judgments with ſuch ſcruples, knots and difficulties, that the beſt ſtate critics being unable to untie, nothing but the ſharpeſt ſword can cut inſunder; I would not willingly be underſtood to plead againſt all diſtinction of ranks and degrees amongſt men, in which conſiſts the harmony, grace and beauty of the world, and which cannot be proſcribed or aboliſhed, without confounding the œconomy and order of all ſocieties, without unlinking the chain of nature,

without cancelling and reverſing the law of the univerſe, and unrolling the world into its firſt chaos of confuſion; nor ſhould I ſpeak a ſyllable againſt honours being hereditary, could the valour, religion, and prudence of anceſtors be as eaſily entailed on a line or family, as their honours and riches, could but their gallantry be made hereditary as well as their fortunes? Could they tranſmit their virtues as well as names unto their poſterity, I ſhould willingly become the advocate of ſuch a nobility, and ſuffer my ears to be bored to the poſts of their doors; and rather acknowledge them our perpetual maſters and dictators, than hazard the choice of worſe, upon the doubtful election of the people, with whom the beſt men are not always in greateſt reputation.

But ſince no choice can be more perilous and unſafe, than the caſual lot of nature, I had rather ſtand to any election, than mere chance; by reaſon we have oftener known fools the ſons of wiſe men by nature, than of the peoples choice or adoption. Honour is the crown and reward of virtue; is it not then unſeemly they ſhould wear the badge and livery, that were never admitted within the utmoſt court of her temple, that are the very ſlaves and vaſſals of vice and wickedneſs? I cannot but pay a greater tribute of reſpect and honour in my thoughts, to the worth of ſuch as have raiſed themſelves to a high degree and pitch of eminence, by the wings of their own merits, than to ſuch as are only borne up by thoſe the credit and reputation of their anceſtors hath bequeathed unto them; wherefore that honour may be a ſpur to valour, and the reward of virtue, let it not be proſtituted to every rich and ſordid miſer, who by abandoning all virtue, hoſpitality and humanity, hath with much oppreſſion and grinding the face of the poor, ſcraped much wealth together; but rather on ſuch as by their valour and prudence,

have

have brought moſt credit and reputation to the commonwealth: wherefore if the parliament pleaſe out of ſuch to create knights, or make the chiefeſt miniſters of ſtate lords by office, or during life, I ſhould account it no ſoleciſm in a commonwealth, but an ornament thereto.

Now the reaſon I look upon the divine, the lawyer, and hereditary nobility, as ſuch irreconcileable antagoniſts to a free ſtate, is not grounded ſingly on the real prejudice they either have, or are like to receive therefrom; but rather, on what their fears and jealouſies are apt to ſuggeſt upon their apprehenſions, being conſcious that their private intereſts ſtand in oppoſition to that of the public; which could they be content to let go, and wave the advantages an injurious preſcription hath given them over their brethren, their concerns would be equally interwoven and wound up with others in that of a commonwealth; and might find it alike propitious to themſelves with any other of like parts and ingenuity: but ſuch is the evil nature of man, that to have done an injury, is a ſufficient ground for future enmity, and rather to proſecute, than any way compenſate thoſe that are indebted for a former diſcourteſy: therefore the beſt and the ſooneſt way to be reconciled to ſuch, is quickly to requite their injury; for meaſuring others thirſt of revenge, by the ſtandard of their own malice, they can never believe any one is friends with them, ſo long as he is in arrears to them for an ill turn: ſo that their fear of revenge breeds diſtance, and that encreaſes alienation and diſaffection, which brings forth farther hoſtility, with encreaſe of injuries. In analogy to which doctrine, the beſt way to give the antagoniſts of the commonwealth eaſe, and its ſelf ſecurity, is, by cauſing their fears to fall upon them, and thereby deliver them from further pain, and the public from its jealouſies and future danger; for it can

never be expected, they ſhould eſpouſe the intereſt of the public, before they have buried that of their private; that they ſhould embark themſelves in the ſame bottom with that of the commonwealth, ſo long as they have ſo many of their own to look after; till theſe are ſhipwrecked, they will not be much concerned in the ſafety and proſperity of the commonwealth.

We ſhall never be ſo well united in our affections and deſigns for public good, as when we are become all of one piece, and to have but one common intereſt: for it is nothing but the diverſity of intereſts that breaks us in pieces, and crumbles us into ſo many different factions and deſigns; which as it was good policy in our monarchs, ſo but bad prudence in a commonwealth: the intereſt of a prince being to break the ſtrength of his people, that one faction being balanced by another, he may with more eaſe and facility render himſelf maſter of all; according to the advice of the old maxim, *Divide and Rule*. But the ſtrength and glory of a commonwealth is its union. And indeed it had otherwiſe been impoſſible, that ever princes ſhould have been able to have tied up the hands of nations, and bound the ſtrength of *Sampſon* in cords, and bands of withies, had not their policy like that of the *Philiſtines* firſt ſhorn their locks, and deprived them of their ſtrength: had they not firſt according to the fable of the faggot, looſed their bond of union, by ſtarting many intereſts, and kindling divers animoſities among them, they had never faſtened the cords of ſlavery and bondage on them. The *Philiſtines* had never ſported themſelves with *Sampſon*, or *Uliſſes* with *Polyphemas*, had they not firſt put out their eyes. Nor had *Princes* ever put a hook into the noſtrils of the Leviathan, or played with the mighty Whale, had they not made uſe of a like ſtratagem.

Men

Men complain much, and ſeem to have a great ſenſe of the many factions and diviſions in religion, as they are pleaſed to term them; but how inconſiderable are theſe to the grand national or civil factions. I confeſs thoſe of religion may ſometime be made uſe of to palliate, but there are other factions, that are the bitter root of all our breaches and diviſions: were there not one intereſt of the nobility, another of the commonalty; one of the clergy, another of the laity; one of the lawyer, another of the countryman; one of the ſoldier, another of the citizen; one of the elder, another of the younger brethren, we might ſoon ſee an end of the other.

Theſe are the intereſts that claſh ſo much one againſt another, and make ſuch tumults in the world; and were theſe once cancelled and forgotten, the other of Preſbyterian and independent, Quaker and Anabaptiſt, &c. would ſoon vaniſh, or at leaſt, make little noiſe or diſturbance in the world. How happy might all men be, did it pleaſe God they might recover the ſight of their common intereſt, and their ſtrength which conſiſts in union. How eaſily might all the nations of the earth ſhake off the iron yokes the tyranny of princes hath put upon them by this means? and with how great facility might this be done! with how little prejudice and detriment to any man's particular, might all be made happy, if laying aſide all animoſities and jealouſies, men would but lend an ear to reaſon, rather than paſſion. But to proceed, ſince it hath pleaſed God once more to put a price into our hands, and cauſe another opportunity of recovering our native rights and liberties to dawn upon us, I deſire we may not be as fools, not knowing how to uſe it; but that all ways that are ſafe and honourable may be taken for the ſecuring and improvement of it; and therefore that the builders of our ſtate may be furniſhed with a ſpirit of wiſ-

dom from above, that they may become *the repairers of our breaches*, and, *the reſtorers of paths to dwell in*; that they may not deceive themſelves, or the nation, by thinking to patch up a ſorry half-potched commonwealth, upon the old, crazy, and rotten foundations of monarchy as heretofore; having had experience, that it will not, it cannot ſtand. They that are beſt read in politics, and have been moſt converſant in the hiſtories of antiquity, know, that as a commonwealth is the beſt and moſt abſolute form of government: ſo it is a nice and tickliſh thing, and hath been difficult to fix in nations under leſs diſadvantage than we, who have been ſo long uſed to a contrary way of government: which I ſpeak not to diſcourage, but rather awaken the endeavours and reſolutions of our ſenators; to watch and ſecure our liberties. The ancient commonwealths have been neceſſitated to make uſe ſometimes of violent phyſic, to purge and evacuate the rank humours of the body politic, and ſuch as I would not have preſcribed a chriſtian ſtate, ſuppoſing there may be found out ſuch as are more ſafe and gentle. It was the unhappineſs of the Grecian and Roman republic, to be often guilty of the greateſt ingratitude towards them that beſt deſerved of them; and not unoften to ſtain their hands with their bloods, whoſe former merits ſeemed to challenge a crown, rather than a croſs from them. How often hath *Greece*, for the ſecurity of her liberty, ſacrificed that life, by which ſhe hath formerly been preſerved from ruin and deſtruction? Who hath not heard of the unhappy tragedy of that valiant captain, that more than once preſerved the capitol, and ſnatched *Rome*, as a prey, out of the very teeth of the *Gauls*, its barbarous, and at laſt fatal enemies? And how often hath *Greece* rewarded her captains victories with baniſhment, inſtead of triumphs? and that upon the ſingle account of ſome ſmall ſuggeſtion of jealouſy,

louſy, or weak argument of too great magnificence or popularity; ſo jealous were thoſe republics of their liberty, that the general of an army durſt not make uſe of a little plate in his houſe, leſt it ſhould cauſe envy, or render him ſuſpected of too much grandeur and ambition, and that he endeavoured to ſupplant the commonwealth, and render himſelf their lord and maſter. Others have been conſtrained to level their palaces with the ground, leſt the ſumptuouſneſs and magnificence of their ſtructure, ſhould become the object of the people's envy and hatred. When theſe things come into my mind, I cannot but wonder any ſhould think it ſo eaſy and facile a thing to erect a commonwealth, as that it may be done with a wet finger, and requires no more then inſerting, *the keepers of the liberties*, inſtead of the name *king*, and that then the work is finiſhed, without any farther trouble or alteration, as may ſeem to be of opinion. I confeſs, had we not at ſo dear a rate bought experience to inform us of the contrary, this miſtake might have paſt for venial, but that makes it an unpardonable error.

A NEW SONG.

Tune, "God ſave the King."

GOD ſave—"THE RIGHTS OF MAN!"
Give him a heart to ſcan
Bleſſings ſo dear!
Let them be ſpread around,
Wherever Man is found.
And with the welcome ſound,
Raviſh his ear!

See from the Univerſe,
Darkneſs and Clouds diſperſe;
Mankind awake!
Reaſon and Truth appear,
Freedom advances near,
Monarchs with terror hear,
See how they quake!

Sore have we felt the ſtroke;
Long have bore the yoke,
Sluggiſh and tame;
But now the Lion roars,
And a loud note he pours;
Spreading to diſtant ſhores,
LIBERTY'S flame!

Let us with FRANCE agree,
And bid THE WORLD BE FREE—
Leading the way.
Let Tyrants all conſpire,
Fearleſs of ſword and fire,
FREEDOM ſhall ne'er retire,
FREEDOM ſhall ſway!

Godlike, and great the ſtrife,
Life will indeed be life,
Should we prevail.
Death, in ſo juſt a cauſe,
Crowns us with loud applauſe,
And from Tyrannic laws,
Bids us—ALL HAIL!

O'er the Germanic powers,
Big indignation lowers,
Ready to fall!
Let the rude ſavage hoſt,
In their long numbers boaſt,
FREEDOM'S almighty truſt,
Laughs at them all.

FAME! *Let thy Trumpet ſound!*
Tell all the World around!

Tell each degree!
Tell Ribbands, Crowns, and Stars,
Kings, Traitors, Troops, and Wars,
Plans, Councils, Plots, and Jars,
FRENCHMEN are FREE!

A few Queries to the Methodiſts in general;

ESPECIALLY TO

THE TEACHERS

AMONGST THAT PEOPLE:

As well as to every other conſciencious Member of the Church of England.

By THOMAS BENTLY.

QUERY I.

WERE not the Kings of Judea, under the Moſaic diſpenſation, intitled to as much reſpect and reverence, as any line of Kings that ever reigned in this or any other country, that we have an account of? and yet did not all the preachers or prophets, from Samuel even to Jeremiah, uſe the moſt plain, ſevere, condemning, and reprobating language to ſuch of them as acted contrary to truth and righteouſneſs, according to the degree of their deviation from the law of God?

QUERY II.

Were not the Prieſts in Chriſt's time allowed by the Romans to exerciſe authority in things belonging to the Temple and the worſhip of God, as deſcendants of the ancient Levitical prieſthood, ſo that they were in fact the chief *Jewiſh* Magiſtrates then remaining, and yet did not Chriſt himſelf

uſe

uſe as ſevere and threatening language to them, as Iſaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, &c. had done to the former Kings and Prieſts? and ſurely it is no more a ſin at this time to call a King a Robber, or a Fox, or a devouring Lion, than it was in the days of Jeremiah, or Jeſus Chriſt, or the apoſtle Paul.

QUERY III.

Does not the Scriptures both of the Old and New Teſtament teach us that there is but one way of ſalvation for all men; that is, the way of truth, righteouſneſs, holineſs, ſelf-denial:——in other words, regeneration—the loving God with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourſelves—or, doing in all things as we would be done unto? and do they not further aſſure us that God, is no reſpector of perſons, but will as ſurely deſtroy a wicked *King* as a wicked *Beggar*?

QUERY IV.

Are not pride, covetouſneſs, oppreſſion, and pleaſure, ſins which ſeparate from God, as well as lying, ſtealing, drunkenneſs, or whoredom? and will you ſay, that people who don't like the poor to come near them, either in the church, the houſe or the ſtreet; but chuſe to wear jewels and laced and embroidered cloaths, or to uſe grand and coſtly furniture and equipages, &c. *are not proud?*—or will you ſay, that, "laying up gold and ſilver like duſt," or buying one Houſe and Farm after another, while thouſands of poor are periſhing for want of education, inſtruction, and the neceſſaries of life, *is not oppreſſion and covetouſneſs?*—or may a perſon frequent plays, operas, balls, maſquerades, card-tables, horſe-races, hunting-matches, and ſuch like vanities, without deſerving the character of a *liver in pleaſure?*—In Solomon's time the priſons were not crowded with debtors and criminals, and the ſtreets with beggars, and perſons

ſons deſtitute of employment, as is now the caſe in this kingdom.

Query V.

If the preſent Royal Family of England are either proud, or covetous, or oppreſſors, or followers of pleaſure, are not all who pray for them under the character of religious, or gracious, guilty of their blood, as well as mockers of God? and if a perſon flatter a wicked Governor is he not alſo an enemy to his country, by encouraging that Ruler to go on in his wickedneſs, oppreſſion, and bad example? Jer. 23, 14, &c.

Query VI.

Will not a Man's telling a wilful lie to gain 10£ as ſurely condemn him as if he told one to gain 100£? and is it not ſurely a lie which a church of England Miniſter tells, when he declares all the children which he baptizes to be then born again, or regenerated by the holy Spirit of God, as when a miniſter of the church of Rome declares that a piece of bread is changed into the very body of Jeſus Chriſt? and is it not as ſhameful a deception in a proteſtant parſon to bury a wicked man in ſure and certain hope of eternal life, as it is in a popiſh prieſt to grant him indulgence or abſolution while he is yet living? or has a Britiſh reprobate any more right to the communion table, than a *Romiſh* one?

Query VII.

Does not both reaſon and revelation teach us that in order to lay the axe to the *root* of the tree of wickedneſs we muſt begin with kings and princes and biſhops and prieſts? ſo long as an Eli is prieſt, or an Ahaz, king, wickedneſs and deſtruction covers the land; but let a Samuel take the place of Eli, or Hezekiah of Ahaz, and then righteouſneſs and peace runs down like a river;—why is it

it then, that you ſeem blind to the ſins of the great? *does not the goſpel afford them a poſſibility of eternal life?* or can *even they* be ſaved in any other path than that of JUSTICE, MERCY, and HUMILITY?

QUERY VIII.

Does not reaſon and revelation teach us, that though a degree of affliction or chaſtiſement is ſometimes good for us, yet an *exceſſive* weight of it is apt to drive us to deſpair, and deſperate courſes? "My feet, ſays David, had nearly ſlipt." We know alſo how hardly Job was put to it to ſtand. Augur ſays, "give me not poverty (want of neceſſaries) leſt I ſteal." Alſo Solomon, "oppreſſion maketh (even) a wiſe man mad." And another, "the rod of the wicked ſhall not *reſt* upon the lot of the righteous, leſt (even) the righteous put forth his hand unto iniquity." With other paſſages of the ſame import.—Nor I wou'd aſk if pride and pleaſure and covetuouſneſs does not naturally occaſion an advance of rents and taxes, and conſequently of all the neceſſaries of life? and does not that advance firſt and moſt heavily fall upon the poor and are not many poor children thereby deprived of education, and many young men and women prevented from marrying, and many fathers and mothers hindered from attending upon religious meetings and converſations, and driven for bread into bye paths and crooked ways, which they are aſhamed of, and would not willingly have trod in? and does not grandeur and luxury and oppreſſion and pleaſure riſe higher and higher in one part of the community, whilſt robbery and whoredom and drunkenneſs and inſolvency increaſe in the ſame proportion in the other? and yet you continue to ſay "our gracious King!"

THE

THE RIGHTS OF SWINE.

AN ADDRESS TO THE POOR.

Be careful to withold
Your talons from the wretched and the bold:
Tempt not the *brave* and *needy* to deſpair,
For though your violence ſhould leave them bare
Of gold and ſilver, *ſwords* and *darts* remain,
And will revenge the wrongs which they ſuſtain;
The plundered *ſtill* have arms.

STEP. JUV.

HARD indeed muſt be the heart which is unaffected with the preſent diſtreſs experienced by the Poor in general in this commercial nation. Thouſands of honeſt and induſtrious people in Great Britain, are literally ſtarving for want of bread; and the cauſe invariably aſſigned is a ſtagnant commerce. My opinion on this ſubject will perhaps appear to ſome a ſtrange phenomena—it is, that a ſtagnant commerce is not the real cauſe of the want of the neceſſaries of life among the laborious poor. And I am confident, that while the "Earth yields her increaſe," there is a method founded on JUSTICE and REASON, to prevent the poor from wanting bread, be the ſtate of trade whatever it may.

In the firſt place, then, I will aſk, What are the principle ſources of human ſubſiſtence? Certainly Corn and Graſs Corn is moulded into many ſhapes for the uſe of man, but chiefly into bread, which is the ſtaff of life; and from graſs, we derive our fleſh, milk, butter, cheeſe, &c. beſides wool and leather, which, I think, with the addition of coal, and a few other minerals, nearly make up the real neceſſaries of life.

I aſk again, then, who is ſo infatuated as to ſay,

that the growing of corn or graſs, is dependa on, or connected with the proſperity or adverſi of trade? Certainly (thank Heaven!) they are n affected by the devouring ſword, or ruined co merce (except at the ſeat of war).—Corn grows n in the loom, nor Graſs upon the anvil! Why is then, that while there is plenty of bread the po are ſtarving? Is there not as much grain and gra in the land as when the trade flouriſhed? Suppo trade were to riſe immediately to an amazing d gree, would it make one grain of corn or bla of graſs more? Certainly not. Why then, I a again, are the poor, who are the peculiar care HIM who delights to do his needy creatures goo not ſatisfied with the good of the land?

The following reaſons are at leaſt ſatisfactory myſelf:—Becauſe, in the time of national pro perity, houſe and land rent (conſequently prov ſions are always raiſed by the wealthy and volu tuous, till they are, at leaſt at par with high w ges; but, when WAR, or any other cauſe has ruin ed, or impeded commerce, and reduced wages, *ren* and *proviſions* remain unabated, The poor calic weavers in the vicinity of Mancheſter, notoriouſl illuſtrate this argument, as they are now (they wh can get any) working for fifty and ſixty per cen leſs wages than at this time two years back, an the neceſſaries of life are rather agumented in thei prices than diminiſhed!!!

Hearken, O ye poor of the Land! While grea men have an unbounded power to raiſe *their* rent and *your* proviſions—and, at the ſame time, an un controuled power to make *War*, and conſequentl to dry up, or diminiſh, the ſcources of your incom your ſubſiſtance will, at the beſt, be precarious and your very exiſtence often miſerable!—Th preſent want of Bread and Butcher's Meat among the Poor, is not owing to the want of Grain o Graſs in the world, nor, I preſume, in this Lan bu

but owing to the price of it being exceſſively above the price of labour. When, therefore, the price of labour cannot be brought up to the rate of proviſions, proviſions ſhould be reduced to the rate of labour. Till this is practicable, the poor are miſerable!

During the laſt twenty years, mechanical wages have been varied according to circumſtances, ſeveral times, and not unuſually, in ſome branches, twenty, thirty, forty, and even fifty per cent.—I mean on the lowering, as well as the riſing ſide of the medium. But, with regard to *land-rent*, its variations have always been progreſſive: and to find a ſingle inſtance to the contrary, would be almoſt, if not altogether, impoſſible!

It requires but little ſagacity to ſee, that the game laws, riot act, laws againſt vagrants and felons, &c. &c, are made chiefly for the ſecurity of the *rich* againſt the depredations of the *poor*. But what ſecurity have the *poor* againſt the oppreſſion and extortion of the *rich?* Certainly none at all. As every comfort of life is derived from land, and as the rich are the proprietors thereof, it may in ſome ſenſe be ſaid, that they hold the iſſues of life and death; and, whilſt they can, uninterruptedly, raiſe their rents without limitation or reſtraint, they have an alarming and unbounded power over, not only the happineſs, but even the *lives* of the great maſs of the people—the *poor*.

If then, ſtateſmen have a right to advance their lands in times of proſperity, the *poor* ought to have a parliament of their *own chuſing*, inveſted with power to reduce them in days of adverſity. This balance of power between the *rich* and the *poor*, would be productive of a thouſand times more conſolation to this nation, than the chimerical nonſenſe of court-jugglers, "*the balance of power in Europe.*" Nor can I imagine that any judicious perſon would call ſuch a power in parliament unjuſt

or irrational, which when exerciſed, could ruin none, but bleſs millions! if it would be cruel to make a ſtateſman of twenty thouſand pounds per annum, live a year or two upon ten thouſand pounds; how much more remorſeleſs is it, to make the Spitalfield and Norwich weavers, as well as ſome hundred thouſands more, live upon nothing—or, what is little better upon *charity!!!* Beſides, it is a curious truth, that the very ſuperfluities which ruin hundreds of the voluptuous great, would render happy the innumerable unhappy part of mankind.

GREAT GOD! What ſpectacle ſo affecting to a reflecting mind as Great Britain in her preſent ſtate!—On the one hand, we ſee the impudent nobles advertiſing their "*grand dinners*,"† in the very face of the hungry poor, whom they have ruined!! On the other hand, widows, orphans, and others, are weeping, and often dying for want of bread! What can be more odious in the ſight of Heaven, than feaſt and famine in the ſame na-

† AN AMERICAN ANECDOTE.

An Indian, who lately came to one of the American ſettlements to barter away his furs, had beads and other ſmall trinkets delivered to him, wrapt up in pieces of Engliſh newſpapers. Curious to know what was going on in this country, he aſked a trader WHO COULD READ, to explain the contents. The firſt paragraph was—"Yeſterday his majeſty, accompanied by Lord C. and Lord W. and ſeveral other noblemen and gentlemen, took the diverſion of hunting." The next, "The Windſor hunt was laſt week moſt numerouſly attended;"—this was followed by "The Dutcheſs of Gordon's SUPERB dinner, attended by all the cabinet miniſters, except three, who had unfortunately SPLENDID dinners at their own houſes, the ſame evening; but for theſe gentlemen, her grace has declared her intention of having a magnificient feaſt next week." The next paragraph was dated from Yorkſhire, and gave a long account of Colonel Thornton's hounds having run a fox more than 50 miles. The reader was going on with the relation of ſeveral other dinners for LORDS and COMMONS, when the Indian interrupting him, cried out, "Stop, let me hear no more—— I ſee that in what you call a civilized country, and boaſt ſo much about, the whole buſineſs of life is the ſame as with us—HUNTING and FEASTING."

tion

tion? Yet this is literally, the caſe in this kingdom at this moment, and not only in the nation, but in every town, in every ſtreet, yea, often under the ſame roof!

Open your eyes, O ye poor of the land! in vain are yonr hands and your mouths open!—Do you not ſee how you are cajoled and degraded, by the paltry ſubſcriptions made for you at different times and in various parts of the nation; which ſerve only to make your ſlavery more ſervile, and baſe and your miſery of longer duration? I revere generous ſubſcribers and collectors, but I ſcorn the means! Ye poor, take a farther look into your rights, and you will ſee, that, upon the principles of reaſon aud juſtice, every peaceable and uſeful perſon has a right, yea, a "*divine right*" to be ſatisfied with the good of the land![†] Beſides, is it not monſtrouſly provokiug to be robbed by wholeſale, and relieved by retail! Look again, and you will ſee that public collections, ſubſcriptions and charities, are nothing more than the appendages of corruption, extortion, and oppreſſion! If the benevolent father of the univerſe did not ſend amongſt mankind proviſions enough, and more than enough and running over, ſuch is the waſte of the great and the gluttonous, that many of you poor, would get none at all! Say not, therefore, ye oppreſſed, "*there is a famine, or ſcarcety of proviſions in this land!*" It would be falſe. The land contains plenty; and if proviſions were (as they ought to be) reduced to your wages, you would enjoy your unqueſtionable right; a comfortable ſufficiency.

But, beſides the deſtruction of your trade, and the means of ſubſiſtence, you have the mortification to ſee your bread eaten by dragoon and hunting horſes, ſpaniels, &c. and your parental, affectionate, loving, provident and tender guardians, can give you a good reaſon why—it is their own!

[†] See Spence's Rights of Man.

Hearken! O ye poor of the land! Do you fret and whine at oppreſſion—"yes,"—"Then, as ye do, ſo did your fathers before you"—and, if you *do no more*, your children may whine after you! Awake! Ariſe! arm yourſelves—with truth, juſtice and reaſon—lay ſiege to corruption; and your unity and invincibility ſhall teach your oppreſſors terrible things?—Purge the repreſentation of your country—claim, as your inalienable right, univerſal ſuffrage, and annual parliaments. And whenever you have the gratification to chuſe a repreſentative, let him be from among the lower order of men, and he will know how to ſympathize with you, and repreſent yon in character.—Then, and not till then, ſhall you experience univerſal peace and inceſſant plenty.

A FRIEND TO THE POOR.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN,

FIRST PUBLISHED IN THD YEAR 1783.

By T. SPENCE.

Tune, "*Chevy-Chaſe.*"

ALL you who wonder at the times,
That they ſo hard do grow,
Come hither, liſten unto me,
And you the cauſe ſhall know.

O Muſes, your aſſiſtance lend,
While ſuch things I rehearſe,
As neither gooſe nor eagle's wing,
F'er wrote in proſe or verſe,

Man nothing leſs than lord was made,
For nothing leſs was meant:
That all things elſe he ſhould ſubdue,
He to the world was ſent,

But

But not content with this large ſway,
Their brethren *Men* ſubdue;
And all the godlike race is made,
Subſervient to a few.

O earth and heaven and all therein,
Your wonder high expreſs,
That rational beings like *dumb brutes*,
Ought earthly ſhould depreſs!

Yet ſo it is that worſe than they,
Nought nat'ral they can claim,
Nor hip, nor haw, nor nut, nor ſloe,
Nor ought that you can name.

If graſs or nettles they could eat,
The ſame would be deny'd;
For my lord's land and herbage reach,
Cloſe to the highway ſide.

'A *Hare* or *partridge* they may dreſs,
They're nature's common gift;'
My Lord's ground fed them, why ſhould he
Of his RIGHTS be bereft?

'To fiſh then you will them allow;
The river's not my Lord's.'
Do not miſtake, *the water's his*,
And all that it affords.

To fiſh or hunt they have no right,
Since they no land can claim;
Whatever lives be't great or ſmall,
The land ſupports the ſame.

So they muſt work to other men,
Whether they will or no;
For idle up and down the world,
No *landleſs* men muſt go.

For why; in truth, they cannot live,
On air or the highway;

Treſpaſs,

Treſpaſs they muſt then on the graſs,
If ſuffer'd thus to ſtray.

And yet no laws are made that ſo,
The rich them work may give;
But when they've ſerv'd their turn on them,
They care not how they live.

So worſe than horſe or oxen thus
Is their unhappy lot;
For horſe and oxen they maintain,
Whether they work or not.

Their wages too by law they ſtint,
As men their labour too,
Should have no right, as beſt they can,
To ſell to that *vile crew*.

But not ſo with their ill got lands,
Do they themſelves confine,
As much as they can get's the rule
By which they let the ſame.

Like tygers lurking for their prey,
So on the watch they keep,
Leſt tenants they by any means,
Their labours' fruit ſhould reap.

If only ſixpence more they think
The tenant he can pay,
As ſoon as e'er his leaſe is out
The ſame on him they lay.

Like hungry *hawks* the farmers then
Are forc'd with hearts full ſore,
The poor at market hard to gripe,
To ſtop the landlord's roar.

If backward in their rents they run,
Indulgence they find ſmall,
Their lord does like a rav'ning wolf,
On goods and cattle fall.

The landlords what they thus have reav'd,
In other lands do ſpend!
And while we ve landlords things will worſe,
But never once will mend.

O! there is a land,† as I hear ſay,
Where landlords none there be!
O! Heavens! might I that happy land
Before I die but ſee.

The rents thoughout that happy ſtate,
Each pariſh deals ſo fair,
That every houſholder therein
Does get an EQUAL SHARE.‡

Of equal ſhares of land or goods,
They never once do dream;
But in each pariſh, *part the rents*:
Which better far they deem.

As all the world belongs to all,
So does a land to thoſe
That dwell therein, the likeneſs then,
Down to a pariſh goes,

So by this ſimple RULE OF RIGHT,
All things in order move,

In

† SPENSONIA,

‡ Though the inhabitants in every country have an undoubted right to divide the WHOLE of the rents equally among themſelves, and ſuffer the ſtate and all public affairs to be ſupported by taxes as uſual; yet from the numerous evils and reſtraints attending revenue laws, and the number of collectors, informers, &c. appendant on the ſame, it is ſuppoſed, they would rather prefer, That after the whole amount of the rents are collected in a pariſh from every perſon, according to the full value of the premiſes which they occupy, ſo much per pound, according to act of parliament, ſhould be ſet apart for ſupport of the ſtate inſtead of all taxes; that another ſum ſhould next be deducted for ſupport of the pariſh eſtabliſhment, inſtead of tolls, tythes, rates, ceſſes, &c and that after theſe important matters were provided for, the remainder ſhould be equally divided among all the ſettled inhabitants, whether poor or rich.

In church and ſtate 'mongſt rich and poor,
All's harmony and love.

For as the poor their nat'ral rights,
And lordſhips thus enjoy,
The rich unenvy'd live in peace,
None wiſh them to annoy.

Then lord have mercy on all lands,
This happy change ſoon bring,
That, brethren-like, men may divide
Their rents, and gladly ſing.

So if by ſickneſs or miſchance
To poverty ſome wane,
Their dividend of rents will come
To ſet them up again.

Ye *priests* and *lawyers*, who men's RIGHTS,
Gloſs o'er deceitfully.
Our common claim to rents will ſtand
'Gainſt all your ſophiſtry.

FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL APHORISMS OR MAXIMS.

[*From Harrington's System of Politics.*]

WHERE a people cannot live upon their own, the government is either monarchy, or ariſtocracy; where a people can live upon their own, the government may be democracy.

A man that could live upon his own, may, yet, to ſpare his own, and live upon another, be a ſervant: but a people that can live upon their own, cannot ſpare their own, and live upon another; but (except they be no ſervants, that is, except they come to a democracy) they muſt waſte their own by maintaining their maſters, or by having others to live upon them.

Where

Where a people that can live upon their own, imagine that they can be governed by others, and not lived upon by ſuch governors, it is not the genius of the people, it is the miſtake of the people.

Where a people that can live upon their own, will not be governed by others, leſt they be lived upon by others, it is not the miſtake of the people, it is the genius of the people.

If a man has ſome eſtate, he may have ſome ſervants or a family, and conſequently ſome government, or ſomething to govern; if he has no eſtate, he can have no government.

Where the eldeſt of many brothers has all, or ſo much that the reſt of their livelihood ſtand in need of him, that brother is as it were prince in that family.

Where of many brothers, the eldeſt has but an equal ſhare, or not ſo inequal as to make the reſt to ſtand in need of him for their livelihood, that family is as it were a commonwealth.

The parts of form in government are as the offices in a houſe; and the orders of a form of government are as the orders of a houſe or family.

Good orders make evil men good, and bad orders make good men evil.

The intereſt of arbitrary monarchy is the abſoluteneſs of the monarch; the intereſt of regulated monarchy is the greatneſs of the nobility; the intereſt of democracy is the felicity of the people; for in democracy the government is for the uſe of the people, and in monarchy, the people are for the uſe of the government, that is, of one lord or more.

A ſole legiſlator, proceeding according to art or knowledge, produces government in the whole piece at once and in perfection. But a council (proceeding not according to art, or what in a new caſe is neceſſary or fit for them, but according to that which they call the genius of the people ſtill hankering

hankering after the things they have been uſed to, or their old cuſtoms, how plain ſoever it may be made in reaſon that they can no longer fit them) make patching work, and are ages about that which is very ſeldom or never brought by them to any perfection; but commonly comes by the way to ruin, leaving the nobleſt attempt under reproach, and the authors of them expoſed to the greateſt miſeries while they live, if not their memories when they are dead and gone to the greateſt infamy.

A parliament of phyſicians would never have found out the circulation of the blood, nor could a parliament of poets have written VIRGIL's *Æneas*; of this kind therefore in the formation of government is the proceeding of a ſole legiſlator. But if the people without a legiſlator ſet upon ſuch a work by a certain inſtinct that is in them, they never go further than to chuſe a council; not conſidering that the formation of government is as well a work of invention as of judgment; and that a council, though in matters laid before them they may excel in judgment, yet invention is as contrary to the nature of a council, as it is to muſicians in conſort, who can play and judge of any air that is laid before them, though to invent a part of muſic they can never well agree.

PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS MAY PLAN MODELS OF GOVERNMENT,

[*From Harrington's Oceana.*]

ONE that has written conſiderations upon OCEANA, ſpeaks the prologue in this manner; I beſeech you gentlemen, are not we the writers of politics, ſomewhat a ridiculous ſort of people? Is it not a fine piece of folly for private men

men ſitting in their cabinets to rack their brains about models of government? Certainly our labours make a very pleaſant recreation for thoſe great perſonages, who, ſitting at the helm of affairs, have by their large experience not only acquired the art of ruling, but have attained alſo to the comprehenſion of the nature and foundation of government." In which egregious compliment the conſiderer has loſt his conſidering cap.

It was in the time of *Alexander*, the greateſt prince and commander of his age, that *Ariſtotle*, with ſcarce inferior applauſe and equal fame, being a private man, wrote that excellent piece of prudence in his cabinet, which is called his *politics*, going upon far other principles than thoſe of *Alexander's* government, which it has long outlived. The like did *Titus Livius* in the time of *Auguſtus*, *Sir Thomas More* in the time of *Henry the Eighth*, and *Machiavel* when Italy was under princes that afforded him not the ear. Theſe works, nevertheleſs, are all of the moſt eſteemed and applauded in this kind; nor have I found any man, whoſe like endeavours have been perſecuted ſince *Plato* by *Dionyſius*. I ſtudy not without great examples, nor out of my calling; either arms or this art being the proper trade of a gentleman. A man may be entruſted with a ſhip, and a good pilot too, yet not underſtand how to make ſea-charts. To ſay that a man may not write of government except he be a magiſtrate, is as abſurd as to ſay, that a man may not make a ſea-chart, unleſs he be a pilot. It is known that *Chriſtopher Columbus* made a chart in his cabinet, that found out the *Indies*. The magiſtrate that was good at his ſteerage never took it ill of him that brought him a chart, ſeeing whether he would uſe it or no, was at his own choice; and if flatterers, being the worſt ſort of crows, did not pick out the eyes of the living, the ſhip of government at this day

throughout chriſtendom had not ſtruck ſo often as ſhe has done. To treat of affairs, ſays *Machiavel*, which as to the conduct of them appertain to others, may be thought a great boldneſs; but if I commit errors in writing, theſe may be known without danger; whereas if they commit errors in acting, ſuch come not otherwiſe to be known, than in the ruin of the commonwealth.

THE CAUSES OF ENGLISH MISERY.

[*From the Critic Philoſopher.*]

ENGLAND produces every article neceſſary for the ſupport of mankind; and might, by proper cultivation extended, produce treble the quantity. The lower claſs of the people reap very little benefit from profuſion, becauſe every device is made uſe of to enhance the value of the commodities requiſite for their ſubſiſtence. Methinks, one half of the inhabitants of this kingdom are dying of hunger and concomitant miſery, while the other half, from wallowing in abundance, are dying of indigeſtion. The ſpirit of gaming has ſo diffuſed itſelf through every rank, that the nobleman riſks his thouſands on the cut of a card, or the turn of a die; the tradeſman ventures his hundreds on the riſe and fall of ſtocks; whilſt the mechanic and ſervant loſe their guineas on the drawing of a lottery ticket. Hence the penſioned peer, the bankrupt tradeſman, and the crowded priſons.

* * * * * * *

Our trading juſtices, our pettifoggers, and our affidavit men, are the locuſts which conſume our property and deſtroy our peace. We have been king-ridden, and prieſt-ridden, but what is much worſe than either, we are at this enlightened age, as is termed, law-ridden, by a ſet of as honeſt fellows

lows as ever graced civil ſociety. They ſerve us with, nevertheleſs, notwithſtanding, howbeit, ſaid and aforeſaid, thoſe and that, demiſed, ſet and let, plaintiff and appellant, defendant and reſpondent, and ſuch other jargon, by way of breakfaſt; next come, by way of dinner, a writ of error, judgment by default, a non-proceſs, a latitat, a habeas, a bail bond, a ſubpœna, a cognovit, and ſuch other comfortable diſhes; and to conclude the day, an elegant ſupper is prepared of verdicts, non-ſuits, bills of coſts, the hallowed touch of a bum-bailiff, a ſpunging-houſe, or priſon; and ſuch is the boaſted liberty of England! the land of freedom!

But to be more ſerious, let me aſk the firſt lawyer in this kingdom, whether he can truly ſay he perfectly underſtands our laws, nay, whether he has read them; for I am ſure, it would require the ſpace of a whole century, added to an extraordinary memory and ſound underſtanding to read and properly comprehend one half of the law-books which our peers, commons, &c. have cauſed to be uſhered into the world. If the laws are made for the good and obſervance of the ſubject, why are they not brought within the compaſs of common underſtanding; and given to him to guide his moral conduct? For, how can a man, in juſtice, be held amenable to laws fabricated by men, with whom he has no intercourſe, and from whom he conſequently cannot receive any information? And why ought he to be puniſhed for the violation of a law, with which he was never made previouſly acquainted? 'Tis true, there are certain plain rules laid down for man's conduct, in his walks through life; and theſe he may learn by reading his catechiſm; we will there find that the decalogue compriſes the duty we owe to God and ourſelves; and I will venture to affirm that a few comments, *if neceſſary*, on each command, would be quite ſufficient for the regulation of the reci-

procal duties we are bound to obſerve in our intercourſe with each other. The ſtudy of law cannot be deemed a ſcience; as it really ſhould be no more than *equity founded on reaſon*; and when it deviates from that, it becomes *quibbling chicanery*. All the laws neceſſary for the regulation of ſociety, may be comprized in a volume of leſs ſize than the Critic Philoſopher; and this I intend clearly to prove at a future period. But I ſuppoſe, as we have too much *law*, and very little *goſpel*, becauſe the generality of us love that which is moſt like ourſelves, both clergy and lawyers will unite in reprobating any writer who may *diminiſh* the emoluments of the *one*, or *invade* the province of the *other*.

IN WHAT CASES WAR IS JUSTIFIABLE, &c.

[*From the Perſian Letters.*]

THE magiſtrate ought to do juſtice between citizen and citizen: every nation ought to do the ſame between themſelves and another nation. This ſecond diſtribution of juſtice requires no maxim but what are uſed in the firſt.

Between nation and nation there is ſeldom any want of a third to be umpire; becauſe the grounds of diſpute are almoſt always clear and eaſy to be determined. The intereſts of two nations are generally ſo far ſeparated, that it requires nothing but to be a true lover of juſtice to find it out.

It is not the ſame with regard to the differences that ariſe between private perſons. As they live in ſociety, their intereſts are ſo mingled and confounded, and there are ſo many different ſorts of them, that it is neceſſary for a third perſon to untangle what the covetouſneſs of the parties ſtrives to tie knots in.

There-

There are but two ſorts of juſtifiable wars: that which we enter into for the repelling an enemy that attacks us; and that which we undertake in defence of an ally that is attacked.

There would be no equity in making war upon a prince's private quarrel; unleſs the caſe were of that heinous nature as to deſerve the death of the prince or people that committed it. Thus a prince ſhould not make war, for being denied ſome honour which was his right, or for any diſreſpect to his ambaſſadors, or the like trifles: no more than a private man ought to kill one that refuſes him the wall. The reaſon is, that as a declaration of war is an act of juſtice wherein the puniſhment ſhould always bear proportion to the fault we ſhould conſider, whether the perſon we declare war againſt, is worthy of death. For to make war upon any one is to ſeek to puniſh him with death.

The moſt ſevere act of juſtice in the law of nations is war; its end being the deſtruction of ſociety.

Repriſals are of the ſecond degree. To proportion the penalty to the crime, is a method which no tribunal could ever help obſerving.

A third act of juſtice is to deprive a prince of the advantages he reaps from our commerce, ſtill meaſuring the puniſhment by the offence.

The fourth act of juſtice, which ought to be the moſt frequent, is a renunciation of the alliance of the people againſt whom we have cauſe of complaint. This penalty is anſwerable to that of baniſhment in common tribunals, which cuts off the criminal from ſociety. So a prince whoſe alliance we renounce, is thereby cut off from our ſociety, and is no longer one of our members.

There can be no greater affront done to a prince than to renounce his alliance, and no greater honour than to court it. There is nothing among

men more glorious nor more uſeful, than to have others concerned as watchful for their preſervation.

But in order to make an alliance binding it muſt be juſt: ſo that an alliance made between two nations to oppreſs a third, is not lawful, and may honourably and innocently be broke.

Neither does it become the dignity and reputation of a prince to enter into an alliance with a tyrant. We read that a certain Egyptian monarch ſent to reprehend the king of *Samos* for his cruelty and tyranny, calling upon him to amend: and upon his not doing it, he gave him to know that he renounced his friendſhip and alliance.

The right of conqueſt is no right at all. A ſociety can never be founded upon any thing but the free conſent of all the members: if it is deſtroyed by conqueſt, the people are thereby freed from their old engagements: it does not make a new ſociety; and if the conqueror goes about to do it, he acts the tyrant.

As to treaties of peace, they are never lawful when they ordain a ceſſion or reparation more conſiderable than the damage done: this is mere violence, and may at any time be lawfully ſet aſide; unleſs in order to recover what we have loſt, we are obliged to have recourſe to ſuch violent methods as will create miſchiefs greater than the advantage ſought after.

This my dear *Rhedi*, is what I call the law of nations, which may be called more properly the law of reaſon.

ON PERVERSION OF TERMS.

[*From the Independent Whig.*]

IT is a ſhameful inſult upon our underſtandings that of ſanctifying the moſt wicked purpoſes and

and moſt cruel actions with the moſt honeſt and innocent names; and yet nothing is more frequently practiſed. Thus the worthy name of RULER ſhall be proſtituted and pronounced aloud, to palliate and even to juſtify the barbarities of a TYRANT; and that peaceable word *obedience* ſhall be forced to ſignify an unmanly and unnatural patience of *ſervitude*: LAWS, which were intended to protect and encourage good men, and to reſtrain and puniſh ill ones, are often perverted into deadly inſtruments in the hands of robbers and uſurpers, againſt the virtuous and the harmleſs; and the means of preſervation are turned into engines of deſtruction. The *Lord's anointed*, a phraſe which at firſt ſignified only a man approved and choſen by God himſelf to be the ruler of his people, has been ſince wreſted to mean an over-grown plunderer, who *choſe himſelf* to be a deſtroyer of God's people.

EUROPEAN MONARCHIES DESCRIBED AS MONARCHIES OUGHT TO BE.

[*From the Perſian Letters.*]

MOST of the governments in *Europe* are monarchic; or rather called ſo: for I know not whether there were ever any ſuch in reality: at leaſt it is impoſſible they ſhould ſubſiſt long: it is a ſtate of violence, and always fall into a deſpotical government, or into a republic: the power can never be equally divided between the prince and the people: the equilibrium is too difficult to preſerve: the power muſt diminiſh on one ſide, while it encreaſes on the other; but the advantage generally happens on the ſide of the prince, who is at the head of the armies.

And accordingly the power of the *European* kings is very great, and one may venture to ſay,

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as great as they pleaſe to make it: but they do not ſtretch it ſo far as our ſultans: firſt, becauſe they would not ſhock the manners and religion of their ſubjects. Secondly, becauſe it is not their intereſt to carry it ſo far.

Nothing brings down a prince ſo near to the condition of his ſubjects, as exerciſing an extravagant power over them: nothing expoſes them ſo much to the turns and caprices of fortune.

The cuſtom they uſe of cauſing all that offend them to be put to death upon the leaſt ſignal, overthrows the proportion which ought to be kept between the faults and the puniſhments, which is in a manner the ſoul of a ſtate, and the harmony of an empire; and this proportion being ſcrupulouſly obſerved by the chriſtian princes, gives them an infinite advantage above our ſultans.

A Perſian who, either by imprudence or misfortune, has drawn upon himſelf the diſpleaſure of his prince, is ſure of death: the leaſt fault or the leaſt caprice brings him into this caſe. But if he had attempted the life of his ſovereign; if he had gone about to betray his ſtrong towns to the enemy; he could ſtill but loſe his life: therefore he runs no greater riſk in this laſt caſe than in the firſt.

So that upon the leaſt diſpleaſure finding death unavoidable, and having nothing worſe to fear, he is naturally inclined to diſturb the peace of the ſtate and to conſpire againſt his ſovereign; this being the only refuge he has left.

It is not ſo with the great men in Europe, who loſe nothing by being diſgraced, but the good-will and favour of their prince: they retire from court and think of nothing but enjoying a quiet life, and the advantages of their birth. As they ſeldom forfeit their lives but for high-treaſon, they are fearful of being drawn into it, conſidering how much they have to loſe, and how little to gain; which

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is the reaſon that here we ſeldom ſee rebellions, or kings deſtroyed by violent deaths.

If in the unlimited authority our princes poſſeſs, they did not uſe ſo many precautions to guard their lives, they would none of them live a day; and if they did not keep in pay an infinite number of troops to tyrannize over the reſt of their ſubjects, their empire would not ſubſiſt a month.

Deſcription of a PARISIAN PARLIAMENT in the year 1720, ſuch as Parliaments ought to be.

[*From the Perſian Letters.*]

THE parliament of *Paris* is juſt now baniſhed to a little town called *Pontoiſe*. The council have ſent to them, to regiſter or approve a declaration which diſhonours them; and they have regiſtered it in ſuch a manner as diſhonours the council.

Some other parliaments of the kingdom are threatened with the like treatment.

Parliaments are always odious; they never approach kings, but to tell them diſagreeable truths; and whilſt a crowd of courtiers are continually repreſenting to them a people happy under their government; theſe come and contradict the flattery, and throw at the foot of the throne the groans and tears committed to their charge.

ERSKINE's DEFENCE OF PAINE.

[*Continued from page* 228. *vol. I.*]

SUCH were the words of that great good man, loſt with thoſe of many others of his time, and his fame, as far as power could hurt it, put in the ſhade along with them. The conſequences we have

have all ſeen and felt; America, from an obedient affectionate colony, became an independent nation; and two millions of people, nurſed in the very lap of our monarchy, became the willing ſubjects of a republican conſtitution.

Gentlemen, in that great and calamitous conflict Mr. Burke and Mr. Paine fought in the ſame field of reaſon together, but with very different ſucceſſes. Mr. Burke ſpoke to a parliament in England, ſuch as Sir George Saville deſcribes it, that had no ears but for ſounds that flattered its corruptions. Mr. Paine, on the other hand, ſpoke TO A PEOPLE; reaſoned with them, that they were bound by no ſubjection to any ſovereignty, further than their own benefits connected them; and by theſe powerful arguments prepared the minds of the American people for that GLORIOUS, JUST, and HAPPY revolution.

Gentlemen, I have a right to diſtinguiſh it by that appellation, becauſe I aver that at this moment there is as ſacred a regard to property; as inviolable a ſecurity to all the rights of individuals; lower taxes! fewer grievances; leſs to deplore, and more to admire, in the conſtitution of America, than that of any other country under heaven. I wiſh indeed to except our own, but I cannot even do that till it ſhall be purged of thoſe abuſes, which, though they obſcure and deform the ſurface, have not as yet *(thank God)* deſtroyed the vital parts.

Why then is Mr. Paine to be calumniated, and reviled, becauſe out of a people conſiſting of near three millions, he alone did not remain attached in opinion to a monarchy. Remember, that all the blood which was ſhed in America, and to which he was for years a melancholy and indignant witneſs, was ſhed by the authority of the crown of Great Britain, under the influence of its parliament, ſuch as Sir George Saville has deſcribed

deſcribed it, and ſuch as Mr. Burke himſelf will be called upon by and by in more glowing colours to paint it. How then can it be wondered at, that Mr. Paine ſhould return to this country in his heart a republican? Was he not equally republican when he wrote common ſenſe? yet that volume has been ſold without reſtraint or proſecution in every ſhop in England ever ſince, and which nevertheleſs *(I appeal to the book, which I have in court, and which is in every body's hands)* contains every one principle of government, and every abuſe in the Britiſh conſtitution, which is to be found in the Rights of Man. Yet Mr. Burke himſelf ſaw no reaſon to be alarmed at its publication, nor to cry down its contents, even when America, which was ſwayed by it, was in arms againſt the crown of Great Britain. You ſhall hear his opinion of it, in his letter to the ſheriffs of Briſtol, page 33 and 34.

"The Court Gazettee accompliſhed what the "abettors of independence had attempted in vain. "When that diſingenuous compilation, and ſtrange "medley of railing and flattery, was adduced, as "a proof of the united ſentiments of the people "of Great Britain, there was a great change "throughout all America. The tide of popular "affection, which had ſtill ſet towards the parent "country, began immediately to turn, and to "flow with great rapidity in a contrary courſe. "Far from concealing theſe wild declarations of "enmity, *the author of the celebrated pamphlet which "prepared the minds of the people for independence,* "inſiſts largely on the multitude and the ſpirit of "theſe addreſſes; and draws an argument from "them, which (if the fact were as he ſuppoſes) "muſt be irreſiſtible. For I never knew a writer "on the theory of government ſo partial to au-"thority, as not to allow, that the hoſtile mind "of the rulers to their people, did fully juſtify

"a change

"a change of government; nor can any reaſon
"whatever be given, why one people ſhould vo-
"luntarily yield any degree of pre-eminence to
"another, but on a ſuppoſition of great affection
"and benevolence towards them. Unfortunately
"for rulers, truſting to other things, took no no-
"tice of this great principle of connexion."

But there is a time it ſeems for all things.

Gentlemen, the conſequences of this mighty revolution are too notorious to require illuſtration. No audience would ſit to hear (what every body has ſeen and felt,) the independence of America notoriouſly produced, not by remote and circuitous effect, but directly and palpably, the revolutions that now agitate Europe, and which portend ſuch new changes over the face of the earth. Let governors take warning. The revolution in France was the conſequence of her incurably corrupt and profligate government. God forbid that I ſhould be thought to lean, by this declaration, upon her unfortunate monarch, bending, perhaps at this moment, under affliction which my heart ſinks within me to think of; but, when I ſpeak with deteſtation of the former politics of the French court, I faſten as little of them upon that fallen and unhappy prince, as I impute to our gracious ſovereign the corruptions of our own government. I deſire, indeed, in the moſt diſintereſted manner, to be underſtood that I mean to ſpeak of his majeſty, not only with that obedience and duty which I owe to him as a ſubject, but with that juſtice which I think is due to him from all men who examine his conduct either in public or private life.

Gentlemen, Mr. Paine happened to be in England when the French revolution took place, and notwithſtanding what he may be ſuppoſed and allowed from his hiſtory to have felt upon ſuch a ſubject, he continued wholly ſilent and inactive. The people of this country too appeared to be in-

different

different ſpectators of the animating ſcene. They ſaw, without viſible emotion, deſpotiſm deſtroyed, and the king of France, by his own conſent, become the firſt magiſtrate of a free people. Certainly, at leaſt, it produced none of thoſe effects which are ſo deprecated by government at preſent; nor, moſt probably, ever would, if it had not occurred to the celebrated perſon, whoſe name I muſt ſo often mention, voluntarily to provoke the ſubject; a ſubject which, if dangerous to be diſcuſſed, he ſhould not have led to the diſcuſſion; for, ſurely, it is not to be endured, that any private man is to publiſh a creed for a whole nation: to tell us that we are not to think for ourſelves—to impoſe his own fetters upon the human mind—to dogmatize at diſcretion—and that no man ſhall ſit down to anſwer him without being guilty of a libel!!! I aſſert, that if it be a libel to miſtake our conſtitution—to ſupport it by means that tend to deſtroy it—and to chooſe the moſt dangerous ſeaſon for the interference, Mr. Burke is that libeller; but not therefore the object of a criminal proſecution: for, whilſt I am defending the motives of one man, I have neither right nor diſpoſition to criminate the motives of another. All I contend for, is a fact that cannot be controverted, viz. that this officious interference was the origin of Mr. Paine's book. I put my cauſe upon its being the origin of it—the avowed origin—as will abundantly appear from the introduction and preface to both parts, and throughout the whole body of the work; nay, from the very work of Mr. Burke himſelf, to which both of them are anſwers.

Gentlemen, for the hiſtory of that celebrated work, I appeal to itſelf.

When the French revolution had arrived at ſome of its early ſtages, a few, and but a few, perſons (not to be named when compared with the nation) took a viſible intereſt in theſe mighty

events; an intereſt well becoming Engliſhmen. They ſaw a pernicious ſyſtem of government, which had led to cruel deſolating wars, and had been for ages the ſcourge of Great Britain, giving way to a ſyſtem which ſeemed to promiſe harmony and peace amongſt the nations. They ſaw this with virtuous and peaceable ſatisfaction: And a reverend divine [Dr. Price] eminent for his eloquence, recollecting that the iſſues of life are in the hands of God, ſaw no profaneneſs in mixing the ſubject with public thankſgiving; reminding the people of this country of their own glorious deliverance in former ages. It happened, alſo, that a ſociety of gentlemen, France being then a neutral nation, and her own monarch *ſwearing almoſt daily upon her altars to maintain the new conſtitution*, thought they infringed no law by ſending a general congratulation. Their numbers, indeed, were very inconſiderable, ſo much ſo, that Mr. Burke, with more truth than wiſdom, begins his volume with a ſarcaſm upon their inſignificance.

"Until very lately he had never heard of ſuch a "club. It certainly never occupied a moment of "his thoughts; nor, he believed, thoſe of any "perſon out of their own ſet."

Why then make theſe proceedings the ſubject of alarm throughout England?—There had been no proſecution againſt them, nor any charge founded upon ſuſpicion of diſaffection againſt any of their body. But Mr. Burke thought it was reſerved for his eloquence to whip theſe curs of faction to their kennel. How he has ſucceeded, I appeal to all that has happened ſince the introduction of his ſchiſm in the Britiſh empire, by giving to the king, whoſe title was queſtioned by no man, a title which it is his majeſty's moſt ſolemn intereſt to diſclaim.

After having in his firſt work, laſhed Dr. Price in a ſtrain of eloquent irony for conſidering the monarchy

monarchy to be elective, which he could not but know Dr. Price, in the literal ſenſe of election, neither did or could poſſibly conſider it. Mr. Burke publiſhed a ſecond treatiſe, in which, after reprinting many paſſages from Mr. Paine's former work, he ridicules and denies the ſuppoſed right of the people to change their government, in the following words:

"The French revolution, *ſay they*," (ſpeaking of the Engliſh ſocieties) "was the act of the ma-"jority of the people; and if the majority of any "other people, *the people of England, for inſtance*, "wiſh to make the ſame change, they have the "ſame right; juſt the ſame undoubtedly; that is, "none at all."

And then, after ſpeaking of the ſubſerviency of will to duty, (in which I agree with him,) he, in a ſubſtantive ſentence, maintains the ſame doctrine; thus;

"The conſtitution of a country being once ſet-"tled upon ſome compact, tacit or expreſſed, there "is no power exiſting of force to alter it, without "the breach of the covenant, or the conſent of all "the parties. Such is the nature of a contract."

So that if reaſon, or even Revelation itſelf, were now to demonſtrate to us, that our conſtitution was miſchievous in its effects; that, to uſe Mr. Attorney-General's expreſſion, we had been inſanes for the many centuries we have ſupported it; yet that ſtill, if the king had not forfeited his title to the crown, nor the lords their privileges, the univerſal voice of the whole people of England could not build up a new government upon a legitimate baſis.

Gentlemen, not to argue for the preſent againſt ſuch a propoſition, and ſuppoſing it could, beyond all controverſy, be maintained; for heaven's ſake, let wiſdom never utter it! If you ſeek the ſtability of the Engliſh government, rather put the book

of Mr. Paine which calls it bad, into every hand in the kingdom, than doctrines which bid human nature rebel even againſt that which is the beſt.—Say to the people of England, look at your conſtitution, there it lies before you—the work of your pious fathers, handed down as a ſacred depoſit from generation to generation, the reſult of wiſdom and virtue, and its parts cemented together with kindred blood. There are indeed a few ſpots upon its ſurface; but the ſame principle which reared the ſtructure will bruſh them all away; you may keep it, or you may deſtroy it.—To ſuch an addreſs, what would be the anſwer? A chorus of the nation.—*Yes, we will preſerve it.* But ſay to the ſame nation, even of the very ſame conſtitution, it is yours, ſuch as it is, for better or for worſe; it is ſtrapped upon your backs, to carry it as beaſts of burthen, and you have no juriſdiction to caſt it off. Let this be your poſition, and you inſtantly raiſe up (I appeal to every man's conſciouſneſs of his own nature) a ſpirit of uneaſineſs and diſcontent. Yet it is the controverſy alone, which this uſeleſs and miſchievous propoſition ſtirred up, that has pointed moſt of the paſſages arraigned before you, which it will be preſently my duty to explain.

But let the prudence of the argument be what it may, the argument itſelf is untenable.

[*To be continued.*]

AN ELEGY,

WRITTEN IN A COUNTRY CHURCH-YARD.

By Gray.

THE ARGUMENT.

A Summer's Evening deſcribed—its Calmneſs diſturbed by the Beetle, Sheep-bells, and Owl—a Country Church-yard

yard deſcribed, with its ſleeping Tenants—the Vanity of Ambition, Power and Beauty—the Folly of pompous Epitaphs and Inſcriptions—true Merit obſcured by Penury—ruſtic Poverty not to be deſpiſed—Love of Life natural to all—what the Poet's Fate may be in ſome future Period, related by Old Age, with his Epitaph.

TIME——A Summer's Evening.

THE curfew † tolls the knell of parting day,
The lowing herd winds ſlowly o'er the lea;
The plowman homeward plods his wearied way,
And leaves the world to darkneſs and to me.

Now fades the glimmering landſcape on the ſight,
And all the air a ſolemn ſtillneſs holds;
Save where the beetle wheels his droning flight,
And drowſy tinklings lull the diſtant folds.

Save that from yonder ivy-mantled tower,
The moping owl does to the moon complain,
Of ſuch, as wand'ring near her ſecret bower,
Moleſt her ancient, ſolitary reign.

Beneath thoſe rugged elms, that yew-tree's ſhade,
Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap,
Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
The rude fore-fathers of the hamlet ſleep.

The breezy call of incenſe-breathing morn,
The ſwallow twittering from the ſtraw-built ſhed,
The cock's ſhrill clarion, or the echoing horn,
No more ſhall rouſe them from their lowly bed.

For them no more the blazing heath ſhall burn,
Or buſy houſewife ply her evening care:
No children run to liſp their ſire's return,
Or climb his knees the envied kiſs to ſhare.

Oft did the harveſt to their ſickle yield,
Their harrow oft the ſtubborn glebe has broke,
How jocund did they drive their team a field!
How bow'd the woods beneath their ſturdy ſtroke!

† The evening bell.

Let not ambition *mock* their useful toil,
Their homely joys, and destiny obscure;
Nor grandeur hear with a *disdainful* smile,
The short and simple annals of the poor.
The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.
Nor *you*, YE PROUD, impute to these the fault,
If memory o'er their tomb no trophies raise,
Where through the long-drawn isle and fretted vault,
The pealing anthem swells the note of praise.
Can storied urn or animated bust,
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can honour's voice provoke the silent dust,
Or flattery sooth the dull cold ear of death?
Perhaps in this neglected spot is laid,
Some heart *once* pregnant with celestial fire,
Hands, that the rod of empire might have sway'd,
Or wak'd to extacy the living lyre:
But knowledge to their eyes her ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time did ne'er unroll:
Chill penury repress'd their noble rage,
And froze the genial current of the soul.
Full many a gem of purest ray serene,
The dark unfathom'd caves of ocean bear;
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.
Some VILLAGE-HAMDEN, that with dauntless breast
The *little* tyrant of his fields withstood;
Some *mute* INGLORIOUS MILTON here may rest,
Some CROMWELL *guiltless* of his country's blood.
Th' applause of listening senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes.

Their

Their lot forbade; nor circumſcrib'd alone
Their growing virtues, but their crimes confin'd;
Forbade to wade through ſlaughter to a throne,
And ſhut the gates of mercy on mankind.
The ſtruggling pangs of conſcious truth to hide,
To quench the bluſhes of ingenuous ſhame,
Or heap the ſhrine of luxury or pride,
With incenſe kindled at the muſe's flame.
Far from the madding crowd's ignoble ſtrife,
Their ſober wiſhes never learn'd to ſtray;
Along the cool ſequeſter'd vale of life,
They kept the noiſeleſs tenor of their way.
Yet even theſe bones from inſult to protect,
Some frail memorial ſtill erected nigh,
With uncouth rhimes and ſhapeleſs ſculpture deck'd,
Implores the paſſing tribute of a ſigh.
Their name, their years, ſpelt by th' unletter'd muſe,
The place of fame and elegy ſupply;
And many a holy text around ſhe ſtrews,
That teach the ruſtic moraliſt to die.
For who, to dumb forgetfulneſs a prey,
This pleaſing anxious Being e'er reſign'd,
Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
Nor caſt one longing lingering look behind?
On ſome fond breaſt the parting ſoul relies,
Some pious drops the cloſing eye requires;
Ev'n from the tomb the voice of nature cries,
Ev'n in our aſhes live their wonted fires.
For thee, who mindful of the unhonour'd dead,
Doſt in theſe lines their artleſs tale relate;
If chance, by lonely contemplation led,
Some kindred ſpirit ſhall enquire thy fate.
Haply ſome hoary headed ſwain may ſay,
'Oft have we ſeen him at the peep of dawn,
'Bruſhing with haſty ſteps the dew away,
'To meet the ſun upon the upland lawn.

'There

'There at the foot of yonder nodding beech
'That wreaths its old fantaſtic roots ſo high,
'His liſtleſs length at noon-tide would he ſtretch,
'And pore upon the brook that bubbles by.
'Hard by yon wood, now ſmiling as in ſcorn,
'Muttering his wayward fancies he would rove,
'Now drooping, woeful wan, like one forlorn,
'Or craz'd with care, or croſs'd in hopeleſs love.
'One morn I miſs'd him on the accuſtom'd hill,
'Along the heath and near his favourite tree;
'Another came; nor yet beſide the rill,
'Nor up the lawn, nor at the wood was he.
'The next with dirges due in ſad array,
'Slow through the church-way path we ſaw him
'borne,
'Approach and read (for thou canſt read) the lay,
'Grav'd on the ſtone beneath yon aged thorn.
'There ſcatter'd oft the earlieſt of the year,
'By hands unſeen are ſhowers of violets found;
'The redbreaſt loves to build and warble there,
'And little footſteps lightly print the ground.'

THE EPITAPH.

Here reſts his head upon the lap of earth,
A youth to fortune and to fame unknown;
Fair ſcience frown'd not on his humble birth,
And melancholy mark'd him for her own.
Large was his bounty and his ſoul ſincere,
Heaven did a recompence as largely ſend;
He gave to miſery all he had, a tear;
He gain'd from heaven ('twas all he wiſh'd) a
friend.
No farther ſeek his merits to diſcloſe,
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode,
(There they alike in trembling hope repoſe)
The boſom of his Father and his God.

ON THE UTILITY OF POLITICAL SOCIETIES.

[*From Cooper's Reply to Burke.*]

THIS outcry againſt the exiſtence and mutual correſpondence of political ſocieties, foreign and domeſtic, is no ſlight argument of their utility. It amounts to proof that this means of communicating knowledge to the public, is likely to be attended with beneficial effects to the beſt intereſts of mankind, or it would not be an object of ſo much alarm to the penſioned advocates of ariſtocracy. The people now ſee the great importance of political enquiries, and extenſive influence of the maxims of government; which operate directly or indirectly on every moment of our exiſtence, and every action of our lives. They perceive much to learn, and much to unlearn on the queſtion of civil government; they expect as their right, a free acceſs to all peaceable means of information, and exclaim with reaſon, "we will be kept in the "trammels of implicit belief no longer."

However plain and ſimple the true principles of government may be, when diveſted of that garb of complication and myſtery in which ſtate-craft has enveloped them, it is certain that they are not yet fully ſettled among thoſe who profeſs to write, and reaſon on the ſubject. The beſt political writers of the preſent day, among the Engliſh and French, are not agreed on points of conſiderable moment; and Mr. Burke himſelf has taken no ſmall pains to magnify the difficulties attending a branch of knowledge, of which, he dreads while he promotes the public diſcuſſion. Difficulties there are; ſuch as ignorance and artifice have created; but if they exiſt, (of whatever kind they may be) why throw obſtacles in the way of enquiry, and deny the means of removing them? At any rate, Mr. Burke, whoſe time for two years paſt, has been chiefly

chiefly occupied in publiſhing diſcourſes of political myſticiſm, ought to be the laſt to cry out againſt any ſource of information on a ſubject which he has laboured ſo indefatigably to obſcure. —Equally aware, that public ignorance is the intereſts of courts, and public information the intereſt of the people, the patriotic ſocieties of France and England, profeſs the ſame general principles of equal liberty, and have preciſely the ſame *general* object in view, viz. the improvement and propagation of political knowledge. In France, as is natural, they diſcuſs the temporary occurrences of their own country; we, thoſe of ours; but the ſame ſcience and the ſame principles are equally applicable to both. Theſe ſocieties, in each kingdom, entertaining therefore the ſame general deſign of extending the bounds of knowledge on the moſt important of all ſubjects of enquiry, can it be deemed improper or unbecoming, that they ſhould mutually communicate for a common purpoſe? Is there any impropriety in the *philoſophical* ſocieties of London, Paris, or Stockholm, correſponding for the improvement of chemiſtry, or experimental philoſophy? On the contrary, do they not all court correſpondencies, as the moſt effectual means of diffuſing information? Why then ſhould ſocieties inſtituted for the promotion of *political* knowledge, be debarred from the common means of improvement? If it be a crime to enlighten the people upon the ſubject of politics, why do not our adverſaries ſay ſo at once, and take that ground of accuſation: if it be no crime, why deny the common methods of communication permitted and adopted in every other branch of human ſcience.

But after all, why this anxiety among the governments of Europe (our own among the reſt) to ſtop the progreſs of knowledge, and cut off the ſources of political information? Why this dread

leſt

leſt the people (the *ſwiniſh multitude*, as their friend, Mr. Burke, calls them) ſhould think too much, and reaſon too much on their own rights, and their own intereſts; leſt the deep veil of myſtery, which ſtate-craft has thrown over the ſcience of government, ſhould perchance be withdrawn, and the tranſactions of court-politics be expoſed to public obſervation? If the foundations of theſe gaudy ſuperſtructures be unſound, this conduct is eaſily explained: but if governments do actually mean well, if their principles and actions will bear examination, why this general dread of inveſtigation? Why give room to ſuſpect that "Men love darkneſs rather than light—becauſe their deeds are evil."

An edifying Leſſon for the poor SWINISH MULTITUDE.

[*From the Morning Poſt of January* 14, 1794.]

I tell thee, *Mufti*, if the world were wiſe,
They would not wag one finger in your quarrels;
Your heaven you promiſe, but our earth you covet;
Ye *phaetons* of mankind, who fire that world,
Which you were ſent by preaching but to warm.

DRYDEN.

The author of a pamphlet called, "Peace and Reform," charges our divines, with recommending a conduct equally ſanguinary with the French; and infers therefrom, that French principles of liberty are no more to be condemned on account of the exceſſes committed by a part of that nation, than the Britiſh conſtitution is to be condemned on account of the exceſſes recommended from the pulpit. The following is the paſſage we allude to:

THE faſt-day, inſtead of being paſſed in conformity with its profeſſed purpoſe, in humiliation

miliation before God, in prayers for the conver-ſion of unbelievers, the reformation of ourſelves, and the general peace and happineſs of mankind; inſtead of a day on which every prieſt made an extraordinary exertion of his powers in imploring the benevolence of the Almighty to enlighten the minds, to ſoften the hearts, and to ſpare the blood of his people, it was chiefly celebrated by the moſt dreadful maledictions. The Supreme Being, who, true religion tells us, enjoins brotherly love, forgiveneſs, humanity and virtue, was addreſſed by our Divines as if he had been more mercileſs and blood-thirſty than any divinity that ever diſgraced Paganiſm; and the temples of the God of Peace were made to reſound with imprecations, from which even our anceſtors would have recoiled when engaged in the worſhip of their ferocious Odin, whom they revered as "the terrible and "ſevere God; the active roaring Deity; the fa-"ther of ſlaughter; the God that carrieth deſo-"lation and fire, and nameth thoſe that are to be "ſlain.†"

The ſolemnity of the ſcene was well calculated for rouſing and miſleading the paſſions, and every artifice was employed to excite hatred towards the French, and provoke us to fury. The prieſthood, as well as the princes, felt themſelves intereſted in the cauſe, and their zeal ſhook the pulpit with exhortations to vengeance. The biſhop of Glouceſter, before the houſe of lords, thus ſpoke of that nation:—"Infatuated and remorſeleſs peo-"ple! The meaſure of your iniquities ſeems at "length to be full; the hour of retribution is "coming faſt upon you! Drunk with the blood "of your fellow-citizens, you have dared to ſpread "your ravages abroad; rouſing the ſurrounding "nations, in juſtice to themſelves and the common

† See the Edda.

"cauſe

" cauſe of humanity, to confederate againſt you, in " order to execute the wrath of God on your de- " voted heads." His lordſhip, however, might have been reſtrained from ſuch raſh denunciations of divine judgment, by the awful admonitions of the founder of that religion which he pretended to preach.

" And Jeſus anſwering, ſaid, ſuppoſe ye theſe " Galileans were ſinners above all the Galileans, " becauſe they ſuffered ſuch things? I tell you " nay; but except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe " periſh."

" And thoſe eighteen on whom the Tower of " Siloam fell and ſlew them, think ye that they " were ſinners above all men that dwelt in Jeru- " ſalem? I tell you nay: but except ye repent, " ye ſhall all likewiſe periſh.†"

The other Faſt Day Sermons were in uniſon with that of the biſhop of Glouceſter, with a very few exceptions. The Rev. J. Gardener, at Taunton, ſaid, " Shall we not labour to bring ſuch per- " ſons (as the French, and reformers in general) " to a proper ſenſe of their duty, *or exterminate* " *them and their opinions?*" and the Rev. Mr. Bromley, at Fitzroy Chapel hopes " that the reck- " oning which God will make will not be long de- " layed againſt a nation, (France) which is cer- " tainly behind no other whoſe meaſure of iniqui- " ties has in any records of time *called forth his ven-* " *geance to eraſe it from the earth.*‡" Theſe are the ſentiments of our HIGH church paſtors: ſuch is the religion, the benevolence, the humanity they teach! To exterminate for opinion! What more did Marat ever deſire! To be the inſtrument of God in executing his vengeance, Mahomet uſed

† St. Luke, xiii.

‡ Theſe paſſages are taken from the ſermons publiſhed under the names of thoſe divines.

the ſame plea for all his murders and rapine! To eraſe a whole nation from the earth!!! Neither Mahomet, Marat, nor Roberſpierre, have equalled this! How limited and inſignificant have been their proſcriptions compared with thoſe of our own pious paſtors, who would "ſeal on the forehead "as the ſervants of God†," all thoſe who make war againſt France; who would "ſend myriads "of locuſts, with crowns like gold upon their "heads, and faces like men, inveſted with ſcor-"pion power, to torment the unſealed" enthuſiaſts of that diſtracted nation, and "let looſe the "angels of the Euphrates to ſlaughter a third part "of mankind.‡"

Similar paſſages from the ſermons preached on that chriſtian day would fill a volume. Moſt of them tend to inflame the people to a war of extermination, and inſinuate the deſtruction of thoſe who deſire a parliamentary reform. Surely our divines cannot be ſo much miſtaken as to imagine theſe harangues gratifying to the head of the church? Their affection towards the crown, indeed, is natural. The biſhop of Durham's promotion has taught them the road to preferment; and my lord of Glouceſter has been long looking for a tranſlation: but not ſuch as Elijah's: His preſent ambition looks no higher than Canterbury.

Nor were the ſermons publicly preached more inflammatory than the writings anonymouſly publiſhed by our high church men; one of which, in Birmingham, under the fictitious name of Job Nott, thus ſpeaks of thoſe whom it calls "New-"faſhioned, reſtleſs diſſenters," and the members of a ſociety inſtituted on the principles of Mr. Pitt and the duke of Richmond for procuring a reform of parliament. "Do be off; only think of the "New Drop; you may be recorded in the New-

† Vide Revelations, c. vii. v. 3.
‡ Vide Revelations, c. ix.

"gate

" gate Calender; tranſportation may reform you; " you deſerve to be highly exalted; did you ever " ſee the New Drop!" and concludes with wiſhing that theſe diſſenters and reformers, whom it deems factious, " tied in their garters may ſwing." Yet the author of this elegant book calls himſelf a friend to conciliation and unanimity, a moderate man, a man of peace! He may be ſo for a Birmingham man; but if ſuch are the friends to peace and moderation in that town, can we wonder at the atrocities, which have taken place there, and ſtill may be repeated, while Job Nott, and ſuch publications are publicly ſold with a bookſeller's name to them, and are even boaſted of by their authors.

ON THE COMMON PEOPLE.

(From Roſſeau's Emilius.)

IT is the populace which compoſe the bulk of mankind: thoſe which are not in this claſs are ſo few in number, that they are hardly worth notice. Man is the ſame creature in every ſtate; therefore that which is the moſt numerous ought to be moſt reſpected. To a man capable of reflection, all civil diſtinctions are nothing: he obſerves, the ſame paſſions, the ſame feelings, in the clown and the man of quality; the principal difference between them conſiſts in the language they ſpeak; in a little refinement of expreſſion: but if there be any real diſtinction, it is certainly to the diſadvantage of the leaſt ſincere. The common people appear as they really are, and they are not amiable: if thoſe in high-life were equally undiſguiſed, their appearance would make us ſhudder with horror.

There is, ſay our philoſophers, an equal allotment of happineſs and miſery to every rank of men; a maxim as dangerous as it is abſurd. If all mankind

kind are equally happy, it would be ridiculous to give ourſelves any trouble to promote their felicity. Let each remain in his ſituation: let the ſlave endure the laſh, the lame his infirmity, and let the beggar periſh, ſince they would gain nothing by a change of ſituation. The ſame philoſophers enumerate the pangs of the rich, and expatiate on the vanity of their pleaſures; was there ever ſo palpable a ſophiſm! the pangs of a rich man are not eſſential to riches, but to the abuſe of them. If he were even more wretched than the poor, he would deſerve no compaſſion, becauſe he is the creator of his own miſery, and happineſs was in his power. But the ſufferings of the indigent are the natural conſequences of his ſtate; he feels the weight of his hard lot; no length of time, no habit can ever render him inſenſible of fatigue and hunger; neither wiſdom nor good humour can annihilate the evils which are inſeparable from his ſituation.—What avails it an Epictetus to forſee that his maſter is going to break his leg? Doth that prevent the evil! on the contrary, his fore knowledge adds greatly to his misfortune. If the populace were really as wiſe as we ſuppoſe them ſtupid, how could they act otherwiſe than they do? Study this order of men, and you will find that in another language they will utter as much wit and more good ſenſe than yourſelf. Learn therefore to reſpect your ſpecies. Remember that the common people compoſe the moſt conſiderable part of mankind; and that if all the kings and philoſophers were to be taken away, the chaſm would be imperceptible, and things would go on juſt as well without them.

ON KINGS.

From Godwin's Enquiry concerning Political Juſtice.

[*Continued from page* 220, *Vol.* 1.]

IF kings were exhibited ſimply as they are in themſelves to the inſpection of mankind, the ſalutary prejudice, as it has been called, which teaches us to venerate them, would ſpeedily be extinct; it has therefore been found neceſſary to ſurround them with luxury and expence. Thus are luxury and expence made the ſtandard of honour, and of conſequence the topics of anxiety and envy. However fatal this ſentiment may be to the morality and happineſs of mankind, it is one of thoſe illuſions which monarchical government is eager to cheriſh. In reality, the firſt principle of virtuous feeling, as has been elſewhere ſaid, is the love of independence. He that would be juſt muſt before all things eſtimate the objects about him at their true value. But the principle in regal ſtates has been to think your father the wiſeſt of men becauſe he is your father, and your king the foremoſt of his ſpecies becauſe he is a king. The ſtandard of intellectual merit is no longer the man but his title. To be drawn in a coach of ſtate by eight milk-white horſes is the higheſt of all human claims to our veneration. The ſame principle inevitably runs through every order of the ſtate, and men deſire wealth under a monarchical government, for the ſame reaſon that under other circumſtances they would have deſired virtue.

Let us ſuppoſe an individual who by ſevere labour earns a ſcanty ſubſiſtence, to become by accident or curioſity a ſpectator of the pomp of a royal progreſs. Is it poſſible that he ſhould not mentally apoſtrophiſe this elevated mortal, and aſk, "What

has made thee to differ from me?" If no such sentiment pass through his mind, it is a proof that the corrupt institutions of society have already divested him of all sense of justice. The more simple and direct is his character, the more certainly will these sentiments occur. What answer shall we return to his enquiry? That the well being of society requires men to be treated otherwise than according to their intrinsic merit? Whether he be satisfied with this answer or no, will he not aspire to possess that (which in this instance is wealth) to which the policy of mankind has annexed such high distinction? Is it not indispensible, that, before he believes in the rectitude of this institution, his original feelings of right and wrong should be wholly reversed? If it be indispensible, then let the advocate of the monarchical system ingenuously declare, that, according to that system, the interest of society in the first instance requires the total subversion of moral truth and justice.

With this view let us again recollect the maxim adopted in monarchical countries, "that the king never dies." Thus with true oriental extravagance we salute this imbecil mortal, "O king, live for ever." Why do we this? Because upon his existence the existence of the state depends. In his name the courts of law are opened. If his political capacity be suspended for a moment, the centre to which all public business is linked, is destroyed. In such countries every thing is uniform: the ceremony is all, and the substance nothing. In the riots in the year 1780, the mace of the house of lords was proposed to be sent into the passages by the terror of its appearance to quiet the confusion; but it was observed that, if the mace should be rudely detained by the rioters, the whole would be thrown into anarchy. Business would be at a stand, their insignia, and with their insignia their legislative and deliberative functions be gone. Who can

expect

expect firmneſs and energy in a country, where every thing is made to depend not upon juſtice, public intereſt and reaſon, but upon a piece of gilded wood? What conſcious dignity and virtue can there be among a people, who, if deprived of the imaginary guidance of one vulgar mortal, are taught to believe that their faculties are benumbed, and all their joints unſtrung.

The evils that ariſe out of avarice, an inordinate admiration of wealth, and an intemperate purſuit of it, are ſo obvious, that they have conſtituted a perpetual topic of lamentation and complaint. The object in this place is to conſider how far they are extended and aggravated by a monarchical government, that is, by a conſtitution the very eſſence of which is to accumulate enormous wealth upon a ſingle head, and to render the oſtentation of ſplendor the choſen inſtrument for ſecuring honour and veneration. The object is to conſider in what degree the luxury of courts, the effeminate ſoftneſs of favourites, the ſyſtem, never to be ſeparated from the monarchical form, of putting men's approbation and good word at a price, of individuals buying the favour of government, and government buying the favour of individuals, is injurious to the moral improvement of mankind. As long as the unvarying practice of courts is cabal, and as long as the unvarying tendency of cabal is to bear down talents, and diſcourage virtue, to recommend cunning in the room of ſincerity, a ſervile and ſupple diſpoſition in preference to firmneſs and inflexibility, a convenient morality as better than a ſtrict one, and the ſtudy of the red book of promotion rather than the ſtudy of general welfare, ſo long will monarchy be the bittereſt and moſt potent of all the adverſaries of the true intereſts of mankind.

(To be continued.)

COM.

COMMONWEALTHS capable of raiſing the greateſt Armies in Proportion to Territory.

[*From Harrington's Oceana.*]

WHERE the arms in bulk are proper, and conſiſting of citizens, they have other trades, and therefore are no ſoldiers of fortune; and yet becauſe the commonwealth has arms for her trades (in regard ſhe is *a magiſtrate given for the good of mankind, and bears not her ſword in vain*) they are all educated as well in military as civil diſcipline, taking their turns in ſervice of either nature according to the occaſion, and the orders of the commonwealth, as in *Iſrael*, *Athens*, *Lacedemon*, and *Rome*, which had (if their territories permitted, and ſometimes as I may ſay whether their territories permitted or no, as in *Iſrael*,) the vaſteſt, the higheſt tempered, and the beſt diſciplined militia, that is to be found in the whole compaſs of ſtory. Some armies of *Iſrael* have conſiſted of three or four hundred thouſand men: *Rome* upon the rumour of a *Gallic* tumult, armed in *Italy* only, without foreign aid, ſeventy thouſand horſe and ſeven hundred thouſand foot; things in our days (when the Turk can hardly arm half ſo many) not to be credited.

Hence that a commonwealth, which had not firſt broken herſelf, or been broken by ſome other commonwealth, ſhould not be found to have been conquered by the arms of any monarch, is not miraculous, but a natural effect of an apparent cauſe.

PALEMON,

OR, THE PRESS-GANG.

'FULL many an hour with tardy flight
Has wandered o'er my head,
And many a day hath ſet in night,
And many a month has fled.

' Since

'Since Britain's lov'd, lamented land,
Evaniſh'd from my view:
Since laſt I preſt my Chloe's hand,
And badet he ſoft adieu!
'But now upon my raptur'd eye
Extends the long loſt iſle,
And Chloe's lovely form is nigh,
With fond affection's ſmile.
'Ah me! what woes were mine to prove,
When far from genial ſkies,
When abſent from the voice of love,
I ſaw the tempeſt riſe:
'Yet then amid the awful ſhade
That veil'd the gloomy ſky,
What time the dreadful whirlwind play'd,
My Chloe's form was nigh:
'Twas thine in that tremendous hour
To ſoothe my fears to reſt,
'Twas thine the voice of hope to pour
Upon my weary breaſt;
'What time the lightning's lurid blaze
Illum'd the rolling ſea;
I fled to future brighter days
And fix'd my heart on thee;
'Yet now and then a tender ſigh
Aroſe from doubtful fear,
And from my fondly anxious eye
Diſtill'd the penſive tear.
'But when the ſtormy ſcenes ſubſide,
When quiet rul'd the ſeas,
When the ſun trembled on the tide
That murmur'd in the breeze:
'Then in the calm unruffled hour,
From every tumult free,
I own'd affections fondeſt pow'r,
And dwelt alone on thee;
'And oft when Cynthia from her throne
Amidſt the azure plain,

With

With ſofteſt mildeſt luſtre ſhone
And ſlept upon the main.
'While memory fill'd my faithful mind
And bade her viſions throng,
I heav'd my paſſion to the wind
In many a penſive ſong;
'Oft then thy tender form was ſeen
In fancy's anxious ſight,
To ſmile upon the wave ſerene,
And chaſe the gloom of night:
'Thy accents ſeem'd my ear to meet
And gently die away,
In notes with melody replete,
And ſoft as Cynthia's ray.
'Thus have I paſt the lingering hours
While abſent from thy ſmile,
While abſent from Britannia's bow'rs,
Upon the deeps to toil;
'But now upon my raptur'd ſight
Britannia's hills are ſeen,
And gentle Chloe with delight
Inſpires the future ſcene.'
Thus pour'd Palemon his ſoft ſtrain,
As near the rock they ſteer'd:
Nor ever dreamt of future pain,
Nor future ſorrow fear'd;
When ſudden to the wand'ring eye
Along the heaving main,
The cutter ſpread her ſails on high,
And march'd the wat'ry plain:
They ſaw the ſavage gang appear,
And trembled at the view:
The penſive ſcene of grief was near,
And pleaſure bade adieu!
Confin'd within the tender drear,
He mourn'd the hours along,
And pour'd of frantic woe the tear,
The weeping waves among.

No more he dreams of ſcenes of joy,
Of proſpects now decay'd:
The pleaſures that of late were nigh,
In ſtern affliction fade.
'Adieu!' he ſaid, 'to Chloe's ſmile—
For Chloe's ſmile no more
Shall tedious hours or days beguile,
On Britain's long loſt ſhore!
'And can you thus, ye ſons of wrong,
The innocent betray:
But, ah! my griefs will not be long,
For life declines away.
'Ah! muſt the gentle peaceful ſoul
Be torn from tranquil plains,
To where the warring thunders roll,
Where deſolation reigns?
'Let thoſe who love the ſcenes of death,
In ſcenes of battle fall:
Nor bear away the peaceful breath,
That wiſhes well to all.'
He ſaid—and o'er his youthful form
A ſickly paleneſs play'd;
And death—that hover'd in the ſtorm
Now ſpreads his gloomy ſhade.
'Adieu ye ſcenes!' he mournful cry'd—
Where once unknown to care,
With gentle Chloe at my ſide,
I paſs'd the moments fair!
'And thou, for whom I live and breathe,
Adieu my Chloe dear!
Oh! twine for me the willow wreathe,
And ſhed for me the tear!
'Oft wander to my grave alone,
When Cynthia ſpreads her ray:
And breathe the tender penſive moan,
And ſigh the hours away.
''Till death unite, with friendly hand,
In regions far above;

And join us in the joyful land
Of everlaſting love.'
He ſaid—and death with pointed dart
Erected high his creſt,
And deep he pierc'd the fainting heart,
And freed the tortur'd breaſt!
Oh ſhame to Britain! in thy land
ſhall ſuch a crew remain,
Who lawleſs in thy regions ſtand
The "Miniſters of pain."
When time has brought the wiſh'd for day,
And Britain's hills are near;
Ah! is it not—ye tyrants, ſay,
Ah! is it not ſevere,
To think that he, who doom'd to roam
For many a month the ſea,
At laſt ſhould be deny'd his home
And dearer friends to ſee?
And borne relentleſs from the plain,
From peace and pleaſure far,
To meet affliction's dreadful train
Amidſt the rage of war!
Oh think! what countleſs numbers mourn,
And bid their tears to flow,
For friends that never muſt return
To check the tide of woe!
The ſtreams that in the battle flow,
Lie heavy on your heart;
And S**** ſhall feel the tenfold blow
When death extends his dart.
For never yet a cruel deed
Unpuniſh'd paſt away;
But virtue has a glorious meed
In everlaſting day.

End of PART FIRST, Vol. II.

N. B. The Work will be continued as before, namely, in Penny Numbers weekly.

*** *The Firſt Vol. may be had bound in different ways.*

PIGs' MEAT.

PART SECOND.

VOL. II.

ODE TO THE DRUM.

I HATE that drum's diſcordant ſound,
Parading round, and round, and round;
To thoughtleſs youth it pleaſure yields,
And lures from cities and from fields:
To ſell their liberty for charms
Of tawdry lace, and glitt'ring arms;
And when ambition's voice commands,
To march and fight, and fall in foreign lands.

I hate that drum's diſcordant ſound,
Parading round, and round, and round;
To me it talks of ravag'd plains,
And burning towns, and ruin'd ſwains,
And mangled limbs, and dying groans,
And widow's tears, and orphan's moans;
And all that miſery's hand beſtows,
To ſwell the catalogue of human woes.

THEY err who count it glorious to ſubdue
By conqueſt far and wide, to overrun
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by aſſault: What do theſe worthies?
Why, rob and ſpoil and burn, ſlaughter and enſlave
Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote
Made captive, yet deſerving freedom, more
Than thoſe their conquerors; who leave behind
Nothing but ruin whereſoe'er they rove,
And all the flouriſhing works of peace deſtroy,
Then ſwell with pride, and muſt be titled gods,
Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers;
'Till conqu'ror death diſcovers them ſcarce men,
Rolling in brutiſh vices, and deform'd,
Violent or ſhameful death their due reward.

MILTON.

ONE murder makes a villain,
Millions a hero.—Princes are privileg'd
To kill, and numbers ſanctify the crime.
Ah! why will kings forget that they are men?
Why delight in human ſacrifice? why burſt the ties
Of nature, that ſhould knit their ſouls together
In one ſoft bond of amity and love?
Yet ſtill they breathe deſtruction, ſtill go on
Inhumanly ingenious to find out
New pains for life, new terrors for the grave;
Artificers of death! Still monarchs dream
Of univerſal empire growing up
From univerſal ruin.—Blaſt the deſign
Great God of Hoſts! nor let thy creatures fall
Unpitied victims at ambition's ſhrine.

BISHOP PORTEUS.

And let all the people ſay, AMEN.

ON

ON WAR.

[*From Voltaire's Philoſophical Dictionary.*]

FAMINE, the plague, and war, are the three moſt famous ingredients in this lower world. Under famine may be claſſed all the noxious foods, which want obliges us to have recourſe to; thus ſhortening our life, whilſt we hope to ſupport it.

In the plague are included all contagious diſtempers; and theſe are not leſs than two or three thouſand. Theſe two gifts we hold from providence; but war, in which all thoſe gifts are concentered, we owe to the fancy of three or four hundred perſons ſcattered over the ſurface of the globe, under the name of princes and miniſters; and on this account it may be, that in ſeveral dedications, they are called the living images of the Deity.

The moſt hardened flatterer will allow, that war is ever attended with plague and famine, eſpecially if he has ſeen the military hoſpitals in Germany, or paſſed through any villages where ſome notable feat of arms has been performed.

It is unqueſtionably a very noble art to ravage countries, deſtroy dwellings, and *communibus annis*, out of a hundred thouſand men to cut off forty thouſand. This invention was originally cultivated by nations, aſſembled for their common good; for inſtance, the diet of the Greeks ſent word to the diet of Phrygia and its neigbours, that they were putting to ſea in a thouſand fiſhing-boats, in order to do their beſt to cut them off root and branch.

The Roman people, in a general aſſembly, reſolved that it was their intereſt to go and fight the Vejentes or the Volſcians before harveſt; and ſome years after, all the Romans being angry with all the Carthaginians, fought a long time both by ſea and land. It is otherwiſe in our time.

A genealogiſt ſets forth to a prince that he is deſcended in a direct line from a count, whoſe kindred, three or four hundred years ago, had made a family compact with a houſe, the very memory of which is extinguiſhed. That houſe had ſome diſtant claim to a province, the laſt proprietor of which died of an apoplexy. The prince and his council inſtantly reſolve, that this province belongs to him by divine right. The province, which is ſome hundred leagues from him, proteſts that it does not ſo much as know him; that it is not diſpoſed to be governed by him; that before preſcribing laws to them, their conſent, at leaſt, was neceſſary: theſe allegations do not ſo much as reach the prince's ears; it is inſiſted on that his right is inconteſtable. He inſtantly picks up a multitude of men, who have nothing to do, nor nothing to loſe; cloaths them with coarſe blue cloth, one ſou to the ell; puts them on hats bound with coarſe white worſted; makes them turn to the right and left; and thus marches away with them to glory.

Other princes on this armament, take part in it to the beſt of their ability, and ſoon cover a ſmall extent of country, with more hireling murderers than Gengis-Kan, Tamerlane, and Bajazet had at their heels.

People, at no ſmall diſtance, on hearing that fighting is going forward, and that if they would make one, there are five or ſix ſous a day for them, immediately divide into two bands, like reapers, and go and ſell their ſervices to the firſt bidder.

Theſe multitudes furiouſly butcher one another, not only without having any concern in the quarrel, but without ſo much as knowing what it is about.

Sometimes five or ſix powers are engaged, three againſt three, two againſt four, ſometimes even one againſt

againſt five, all equally deteſting one another; and friends and foes, by turns, agreeing only in one thing, to do all the miſchief poſſible.

An odd circumſtance in this infernal enterprize is, that every chief of theſe ruffians has his colours conſecrated; and ſolemnly prays to God before he goes to deſtroy his neighbour. If the ſlain in a battle do not exceed two or three thouſand, the fortunate commander does not think it worth thanking God for; but if, beſides killing ten or twelve thouſand men, he has been ſo far favoured by heaven, as totally to deſtroy ſome remarkable place, then a verboſe hymn is ſung in four parts, compoſed in a language unknown to all the combatants, and beſides ſtuffed with barbariſms †. The ſame ſong does for marriages and births, as for maſſacres; which is ſcarce pardonable, eſpecially in a nation of all others the moſt noted for new ſongs.

All countries pay a certain number of orators to celebrate theſe ſanguinary actions; ſome in a long black coat, and over it a ſhort docked cloak; others in a gown with a kind of ſhirt over it; ſome again over their ſhirts have two pieces of a motley-coloured ſtuff hanging down. They are all very long-winded in their harangues, and to illuſtrate a battle fought in Weteravia, bring up what paſſed thouſands of years ago in Paleſtine.

At other times theſe gentry declaim againſt vice; they prove by ſyllogiſms and antitheſes, that ladies, for ſlightly heightening the hue of their cheeks with a little carmine, will aſſuredly be the eternal objects of eternal vengeance; that Polyeucte and Athalia ‡ are the devil's works; that he, whoſe table, on a day of abſtinence, is loaded with fiſh to the amount of two hundred crowns, is infallibly ſaved; and that a poor man, for eating two

† Te Deum.

‡ Two French tragedies.

penny-worth of mutton, goes to the devil for ever and ever.

Among five or ſix thouſand ſuch declamations, there may be, and that is the moſt, three or four, written by a Gaul named Maſſillon, which a gentleman may bear to read; but in not one of all thoſe diſcourſes has the orator the ſpirit to animadvert on war, that ſcourge and crime which includes all others. Theſe groveling ſpeakers are continually prating againſt love, mankind's only ſolace, and the only way of repairing it: not a word do they ſay of the deteſtable endeavours of the mighty for its deſtruction.

Bourdaloue §, a very bad ſermon have you made againſt impurity, but not one either bad or good on thoſe various kinds of murders, on thoſe robberies, on thoſe violences, that univerſally rage, by which the world is laid waſte! Put together all the vices of all ages and places, and never will they come up to the miſchiefs and enormities of only one campaign.

Ye bungling ſoul-phyſicians, to bellow for an hour and more againſt a few flea-bites, and not ſay a word about that horrid diſtemper, which tears us to pieces. Burn your books, ye moralizing philoſophers! Whilſt the humour of a few ſhall make it an act of loyalty to butcher thouſands of our fellow-creatures, the part of mankind dedicated to heroiſm will be the moſt execrable and deſtructive monſters in all nature. Of what avail is humanity, benevolence, modeſty, temperance, mildneſs, diſcretion, and piety; when half a pound of lead diſcharged at the diſtance of ſix hundred paces ſhatters my body; when I expire at the age of twenty under pains unſpeakable, and amidſt thouſands in the ſame miſerable condition; when my eyes at their laſt opening ſee my native town

§ A celebrated preacher.

all

all in a blaze; and the laſt ſounds I hear are the ſhrieks and groans of women and children expiring among the ruins, and all for the pretended intereſt of a man who is a ſtranger to us!

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

A SONG.——Tune, "*Rule Britannia.*"

WHEN Britain firſt at heaven's command,
Aroſe from out the aſure main,
This was the charter of the land,
And guardian angels ſung this ſtrain,
Ye Britons hark, if bleſs'd you'd be,
See that your guardian preſs be free.

Though tyrants oft the ſcepter ſway'd,
In Britain's Iſle, a people free,
In ſpite of placemen ſtill aſſay'd,
To keep their thoughts and printing free.
Then Britons join'd their preſs to free,
Their preſs ſecur'd their liberty.

Its daring voice raviſh'd each ear,
To diſtant lands its fame was known,
Reaſon and truth advancing near,
Soon hurl'd a tyrant † from his throne.
Then Britons join'd their preſs to free,
Their preſs ſecur'd their liberty.

Though Burke and Reeves each ſinew ſtrain,
Their baſe falſe doctrines to ſupport,
'Gainſt falſehood we'll truth's cauſe maintain,
Vict'ry awaits the grand effort.
Then zealous be your preſs to free,
And you'll ſecure your liberty,

† James II.

Let's

Let's then unite with heart and hand,
Falſhood already ſhrinks with fear,
With truth attack the hireling band,
When reaſon ſhines they'll diſappear.
Then Britons join your preſs to free,
And you'll preſerve your liberty.

ERSKINE's Defence of PAINE, and of the LIBERTY of the PRESS.

[*Continued from page* 124, *vol. II.*]

HIS majeſty undoubtedly was not elected to the throne. No man can be ſuppoſed, in the teeth of fact, to have contended it; but did not the people of England elect King William, and break the hereditary ſucceſſion? and does not his majeſty's title grow out of that election? It is one of the charges againſt the defendant, his having denied the parliament which called the Prince of Orange to the throne to have been a legal convention of the whole people; and is not the very foundation of that charge, that it was ſuch a legal convention, and that it was intended to be ſo? and if it was ſo, did not the people then confer the crown upon King William without any regard to hereditary right? Did they not cut off the Prince of Wales, who ſtood directly in the line of ſucceſſion, and who had incurred no perſonal forfeiture? Did they not give their deliverer an eſtate in the crown totally new and unprecedented in the law or hiſtory of the country? And, laſtly, might they not, by the ſame authority, have given the royal inheritance to the family of a ſtranger? Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone, in his Commentaries, in terms, aſſerts that they might; and aſcribes their choice of King William, and the ſubſequent limitations of the crown, not to the want of juriſdiction, but to their true origin, to prudence and diſcretion

diſcretion in not diſturbing a valuable inſtitution further than public ſafety and neceſſity dictated.

The Engliſh govermment ſtands thenon this public conſent, the true root of all governments. And I agree with Mr. Burke, that, while it is well adminiſtered, it is not in the power of factions or libels to diſturb it: though when miniſters are in fault, they are ſure to ſet down all diſturbances to theſe cauſes. This is moſt juſtly and eloquently exemplified in the thoughts on the cauſe of the preſent diſcontents, page 5 and 6.

" Miniſters contend that no adequate provoca-
" tion has been given for ſo ſpreading a diſcon-
" tent, our affairs having been conducted through-
" out with remarkable temper and conſummate
" wiſdom, The wicked induſtry of ſome libel-
" lers, joined to the intrigues of a few diſappointed
" politicians, have, in their opinion, been able to
" produce this unnatural ferment in the nation.

" Nothing, indeed, can be more unnatural than
" the preſent convulſions of this country, if the
" above account be a true one. I confeſs I ſhall
" aſſent to it with great reluctance, and only on
" the compulſion of the cleareſt and firmeſt proofs;
" becauſe their account reſolves itſelf into this ſhort
" but diſcouraging propoſition, ' That we have a
" very good miniſtry, but that we are a very bad
" people;' that we ſet ourſelves to bite the hand
" that feed us; and, with a malignant inſanity,
" oppoſe the meaſures, and ungratefully vilify the
" perſons of thoſe whoſe ſole object is our own
" peace and proſperity. If a few puny libellers,
" acting under a knot of factious politicians, with-
" out virtue, parts, or character (for ſuch they are
" conſtantly repreſented by theſe gentlemen,) are
" ſufficient to excite this diſturbance, very per-
" verſe muſt be the diſpoſition of that people,
" amongſt whom ſuch a diſturbance can be excited
" by ſuch means."

He

He says true: never were serious disturbances excited by such means!

But to return to the argument.—Let us now see how the rights of the people stand upon authority, and whether this great source of government is not maintained by persons on whom my friend will find it hard to fasten the character of libellers.

I shall begin with the most modern author on the subject of government—a gentleman, whose work lies spread out before me, as it often does for my delight and instruction in my leisure hours. I have also, by the favour of a friend who sits near me in court, the honour of his personal acquaintance. He is a man, perhaps more than any other, devoted to the real constitution of the country, as will be found throughout his valuable work; and he is a person, besides of great learning, which enables him to infuse much useful knowledge into my learned friend who introduced me to him. [Mr. Law, king's counsel.] I speak of Mr. Paley, archdeacon of Carlisle, and of his work, entitled, The Principles of Political and Moral Philosophy, in which he investigates the first principles of all governments, a discussion not thought dangerous till lately; and I hope we shall soon get rid of this ridiculous panic.

Mr. Paley professes to think of government what the christian religion was thought of by its first teachers: 'If it be of God it will stand;' and he puts the duties of obedience to them upon free will and moral duty. After dissenting from Mr. Locke as to the origin of governments in compact, he says,

"Wherefore, rejecting the intervention of a "compact as unfounded in its principle, and dan- "gerous in the application, we assign for the only "ground of the subjects obligation, THE WILL OF "GOD, AS COLLECTED FROM EXPEDIENCY.

"The

" The ſteps by which the argument proceeds are " few and direct. ' It is the will of God that the " happineſs of human life be promoted ;' this is " the firſt ſtep, and the foundation, not only of " this, but of every moral concluſion. ' Civil " ſociety conduces to that end ;' this is the ſecond " propoſition, ' civil ſocieties cannot be upheld, " unleſs in each, the intereſt of the whole ſociety " be binding upon every part and member of it ;' " this is the third ſtep, and conducts us to the " concluſion, namely, ' That, ſo long as the inte- " reſt of the whole ſociety requires it (that is, ſo " long as the eſtabliſhed government cannot be re- " ſiſted or changed without public inconvenience) " it is the will of God (which will univerſally " determines our duty) that the eſtabliſhed govern- " ment be obeyed,' *and no longer.*

" But who ſhall judge of this ? We anſwer, " *Every man for himſelf.* In contentions between " the ſovereign and the ſubject, the parties ac- " knowledge no common arbitrator ; and it would " be abſurd to commit the deciſion to thoſe whoſe " conduct has provoked the queſtion, and whoſe " own intereſt, authority, and fate, are immedi- " ately concerned in it. The danger of error and " abuſe is no objection to the rule of expediency, " becauſe every other rule is liable to the ſame or " greater ; and every rule that can be propounded " upon the ſubject (like all rules which appeal to, " or bind the conſcience) muſt, in the application " depend upon private judgment. It may be ob- " ſerved, however, that it ought equally to be ac- " counted the exerciſe of a man's private judg- " ment, whether he determines by reaſonings and " concluſions of his own, or ſubmits to be di- " rected by the advice of others, provided he be " free to chooſe his guide."

He then proceeds in a manner rather inconſiſtent with

with the principles entertained by my learned friend in his opening to you:

"No uſage, law, or authority whatever, is ſo "binding that it need or ought to be contiuued, "when it may be changed with advantage to the "community. The family of the prince—the or- "der of ſucceſſion—the prerogative of the crown "—the form and parts of the legiſlature—together "with the reſpective powers, office, duration, and "mutual dependency of the ſeveral parts, are all "only ſo many laws, mutable, like other laws, "whenever expediency requires, either by the "ordinary act of the legiſlature, or, if the occa- "ſion deſerve it, BY THE INTERPOSITION OF "THE PEOPLE."

No man can ſay that Mr. Paley intended to diffuſe diſcontent by this declaration. He muſt therefore be taken to think with me that freedom and affection, and the ſenſe of advantages, are the beſt and the only ſupports of government. On the ſame principle he then goes on to ſay, "Theſe "points are wont to be approached with a kind of "awe; they are repreſented to the mind as prin- "ciples of the conſtitution, ſettled by our an- "ceſtors, and being ſettled, to be no more com- "mitted to innovation or debate; as foundations "never to be ſtirred; as the terms and conditions "of the ſocial compact, to which every citizen of "the ſtate has engaged his fidelity, by virtue of a "promiſe which he cannot now recall. Such rea- "ſons have no place in our ſyſtem."

Such are the ſentiments of this excellent author, and there is no part of Mr. Paine's work, from the one end of it to the other, that advances any other propoſition.

But the attorney-general will ſay, theſe are the grave ſpeculative opinions of a friend to the Engliſh government, whereas Mr. Paine is its profeſſed enemy; what then? the principle is, that every man,

man, while he obeys the laws, is to think for himſelf, and to conduct himſelf as he thinks. The very ends of ſociety exact this licence, and the policy of the law, in its proviſions for its ſecurity, has tacitly ſanctioned it. The real fact is, that writings againſt a free and well-proportioned government, need not be guarded againſt by laws. They cannot often exiſt, and never with effect. The juſt and awful principles of ſociety, are rarely brought forward, but when they are inſulted or denied, or abuſed in practice; Mr, Locke's Eſſay on Government, we owe to Sir Robert Filmer, as we owe Mr. Paine's to Mr. Burke; and indeed, between the arguments of Filmer and Burke, I ſee no eſſential difference; ſince it is not worth diſputing, whether a king exiſts by *divine* right, or indiſſoluble *human* compact, if he exiſts whether we will or no; if his exiſtence be without our conſent, and to continue without our benefit, it matters not a farthing, whether his title be from God or from man.

[*To be continued.*]

A MELANCHOLY LESSON FOR ENGLISHMEN.

A Letter from the Author of L'Eſprit des Loix to M. Le Chevalier de Bruant.

[*From Voltaire's Letters.*]

I WAS not at *** when your letter came; you embarraſs me greatly; I ſhall only anſwer you for the pleaſure of entertaining myſelf with a man who is much better able to reſolve the doubts which he propoſed, than the perſon to whom he ſent them.

I am not of your opinion with regard to deſpotiſm and deſpotic princes. It appears to me horrible and abſurd to the laſt degree, that a whole peo-

ple ſhould blindly ſubject themſelves to the caprice of one, even if he were an angel. For my own part, I would not live nnder him a ſingle day. This angel may become in a moment a monſter, thirſting after blood. Deſpotiſm is to me the moſt abominable and diſguſtful of all bad governments; man is perpetually cruſhed, debaſed, and degraded by it. Look into hiſtory, ancient and modern, if ever there was one upon earth that was not an inſult on mankind, and the diſgrace of human nature. Monarchy would doubtleſs be the beſt of governments, if it was poſſible to find ſuch kings as Henry IV. the only one who ever deſerved the homage and veneration of his ſubjects. Kings ſhould always be brought up in the ſchool of affliction, as this great man was; ſuch alone are truly great, and the lovers of mankind. Before we can feel for the misfortunes of others, we muſt ourſelves have been unfortunate. But on the other hand, the hearts of princes, corrupted by proſperity, and the ſlaves of pride and folly. are inacceſſible to pity, and inſenſible to true glory.

I am not at all ſurprized, that in monarchies, and eſpecially in our own, there ſhould be ſo few princes worthy of eſteem. Incircled by corrupters, knaves, and hypocrites, they accuſtom themſelves to look upon their fellow-creatures with diſdain, and ſet no value on any but the ſycophants, who careſs their vices and live in perpetual idleneſs and inactivity. Such is generally the condition of a monarch; great men are always ſcarce, and great kings ſtill more ſo. Add to this, that the ſplendor of a monarchy is ſhort and tranſitory. France is already ſunk into miſery and diſgrace; an age more will annihilate her, or ſhe will fall a prey to the firſt intrepid conqueror.

The Engliſh government has nothing to ſupport it but a deluſive outſide, extremely flattering to the people, who fancy themſelves the ſole governors.

vernors. I do not know any country where it is more eaſy to create ſuch open diſſentions as may overthrow the ſtate. A man of ſenſe and generoſity may, in ten years time, erect himſelf into a deſpotic prince with more ſafety at London than at Moſcow: Remember Cromwell. Money alone is ſufficient to corrupt the whole parliament.

The great, ever fond of riches and power, and proſtrate at the feet of fortune, who always attend the throne, will promote the views of their maſter; and the great, once gained over, this phantom of liberty, which appears at intervals in the convulſive motions of the commons, which awakens, ſhakes itſelf, and ſoon vaniſhes, will be totally annihilated at the firſt ſignal given by the Supreme Ruler.

I know indeed of no monarchy that is fixed, conſtant and perfect; the wiſeſt kings oppreſs their ſubjects to arrive at deſpotiſm. Adieu, my friend; live in freedom and obſcurity. Solitude will procure you the beſt and trueſt pleaſure, ſelf-content. The fooliſh and the wicked ſeen far off, will only excite your compaſſion; to look nearly upon them, would raiſe your contempt and indignation.

I write this in haſte; we will treat this matter more fully in the free intercourſe of guiltleſs friendſhip.

ANOTHER LESSON NOT MORE AGREEABLE.

The Speech of Lelop-Aw [*Walpole*] the Miniſter of the deceaſed Emperor Regoge [*George I.*] to to his Succeſſor.

[*From Swift's Account of Japan.*]

"SIR, hear not thoſe who would moſt falſely, impiouſly, and maliciouſly inſinuate, that

your government can be carried on without that wholeſome, neceſſary expedient, of *ſharing the public revenue* with your *faithful deſerving ſenators*. This, I know, my enemies are pleaſed to call *bribery* and *corruption*. Be it ſo: but I inſiſt, that, without this bribery and corruption, the wheels of government will not turn, or at leaſt will be apt to take fire, like other wheels, unleſs they be greaſed at proper times. If an angel from heaven ſhould deſcend, to govern *this* empire upon any other ſcheme than what our enemies call corruption, he muſt return from whence he came, and leave the work undone.

"Sir, it is well known we are a trading nation, and conſequently cannot thrive in a bargain where nothing is to be gained. The poor electors, who run from their ſhops, or the plough, for the ſervice of their country, are they not to be conſidered for their labour and their loyalty? The candidates, who, with the hazard of their perſons, the loſs of their characters, and the ruin of their fortunes, are preferred to the ſenate, in a country where they are ſtrangers, before the very lords of the ſoil; are they not to be rewarded for their zeal to your majeſty's ſervice, and qualified to live in your metropolis as becomes the luſtre of their ſtations.

"Sir, if I have given great numbers of the moſt profitable employments among my own relations and neareſt allies, it was not out of any partiality, but becauſe I know them beſt, and can beſt depend upon them. I have been at the pains to mould and cultivate their opinions. Abler heads might probably have been found, but they would not be equally under my direction. A huntſman, who hath the abſolute command of his dogs, will hunt more effectually than with a better pack, to whoſe manner and cry he is a ſtranger.

"Sir, upon the whole, I will appeal to all thoſe who beſt knew your royal father, whether that bleſſed

bleſſed monarch had ever one axious thought for the public, or diſappointment, or uneaſineſs, or want of money for all his occaſions, during the time of my adminiſtration? And, how happy the people confeſſed themſelves to be under ſuch a king, I leave to their own numerous addreſſes; which all politicians will allow to be the moſt infallible proof how any nation ſtands affected to their ſovereign."

This will be the Manner of the King that ſhall reign over you. 1 Sam. 8. 11.

Obſervations on the Fatherly Conduct of PHARAOH to his People in their unparalleled Diſtreſs, and the exemplary faithfulneſs of JOSEPH to the intereſt of his King and Maſter.

GEN. 41. ver. 33. Let Pharaoh *(ſays Joſeph)* look out a man diſcreet and wiſe, and ſet him over the land of Egypt.

34. Let Pharaoh do this, and let him appoint officers over the land, and take up the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the ſeven plenteous years.

35. And let them gather all the food of thoſe good years that come, *(which Joſeph no doubt adviſed Pharaoh to pay for)* and lay up corn under the hand of Pharaoh, and let them keep food in the cities.

36. And that food ſhall be for ſtore to the land againſt the ſeven years of famine, which ſhall be in the land of Egypt; that the land periſh not through the famine.

37. And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of all his ſervants. (*Whatever it might be for his ſervants it was a lucky famine for Pharaoh, as we ſhall preſently ſee.*)

47. And in the ſeven plenteous years the earth brought forth by handfuls.

48. And he (*Joſeph*) gathered up all the food of the ſeven years, which were in the land of Egypt, and laid up the food in the cities: the food of the field which was round about every city, laid he up in the ſame.

49. And Joſeph gathered corn as the ſand of the ſea, very much, until he left numbering: for it was without number. (*This was all very good ſuppoſing that the people were paid for their corn.*)

53. And the ſeven years of plenteouſneſs that was in the land of Egypt were ended.

54. And the ſeven years of dearth began to come, according as Joſeph had ſaid: and the dearth was in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread.

55. And when all the land of Egypt was famiſhed, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh ſaid unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joſeph; what he ſaith to you do.

56. And the famine was over all the face of the earth; and Joſeph opened all the ſtore-houſes, and ſold unto the Egyptians; (*this he had an unqueſtionable right to do at a reaſonable rate, if he bought it*) and the famine waxed ſore in the land of Egypt.

57. And all countries came into Egypt to Joſeph for to buy corn; becauſe that the famine was ſore in all lands. (*The profits of ſo productive a foreign trade as this, might have amply ſatisfied the avarice of Pharaoh and Joſeph, without entirely ruining and enſlaving the unfortunate Egyptians; but kings and miniſters ſet no bonnds to their rapine, they will take both fleece and carcaſe if the ſilly ſheep their ſubjects will ſubmit.*)

Chap. 47. ver. 12. And Joſeph nouriſhed his father and his brethren, and all his father's houſhold with bread, according to their families. (*This was well; it was only charity beginning at home as it ought. What miniſter would not do ſo?*)

13. And

13. And there was no bread in all the land: (*except in Pharaoh's granaries,*) for the famine was very ſore; ſo that the land of Egypt and all the land of Canaan fainted by reaſon of the famine. (*God help them! their ſuccour was now in cruel hands.*)

14. And Joſeph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, (*for the good of his maſter, like a good miniſter*) and in the land of Canaan, (*for the good of his country like a good politician*) for the corn which they bought; and Joſeph brought the money into Pharaoh's houſe, (*like a faithful ſervant.*)

15. And when money failed in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, all the Egyptians came unto Joſeph, and ſaid, Give us bread; for why ſhould we die in thy preſence? for the money faileth. (*Poor good-natured people! what a ſin it was to uſe you ſo cruelly! All the money that they had received from Pharaoh for the corn, in the years of plenty, if we can ſuppoſe ſuch tyrants would give any to ſo tame a people, was now extorted again from them, together with all that they had beſide.*)

16. And Joſeph ſaid, Give your cattle; and I will give you for your cattle if money fail. (*Detestable, extortioning wretch! Sure this was taking more than a reaſonable profit.*)

17. And they brought their cattle unto Joſeph: and Joſeph gave them bread in exchange for horſes, and for the flocks, and for the cattle of the herds, and for the aſſes; and he fed them with bread, for all their cattle, for that year. (*Poor oppreſſed people! your miſeries and your patience have been overlooked for ages. The ſlight afflictions of the favourite family of Iſrael have attracted and engroſſed all the ſympathy from your unſpeakable ſufferings, and not a ſigh for you is left*)

18. When that year was ended, they came unto him the ſecond year, and ſaid unto him, We will not hide it from my Lord, how that our money is ſpent;

ſpent; my Lord hath alſo our herds of cattle; there is not ought left in the ſight of my Lord, but our bodies and our lands. (*If men make themſelves ſheep they will be devoured by the wolves*)

19. Wherefore ſhall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land? (*Fooliſh people, why reaſon ſo with him, why endeavour to excite his compaſſion, you were not his brethren,*) buy us and our land for bread, (*Now he will liſten to you, yes he will buy you, but as cheap as poſſible*) and we and our land will be ſervants to Pharaoh, (*then your troubles will be ended*) and give us ſeed, that we may live, and not die, that the land be not deſolate. (*Becauſe Pharaoh will now take care of you as he does of your cattle.*

20. And Joſeph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; (*Ye modern miniſters! who among you with all your buying and ſelling can compare to Joſeph?*) for the Egyptians ſold every man his field, (*Poor fellows!*) becauſe the famine prevailed every where; ſo the land became Pharaoh's.

21. And as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of Egypt, even to the other end thereof. (*Leſt the ſight of the fields and vineyards which once they poſſeſſed ſhould create a ſeditious wiſh to be reinſtated.*)

22. Only the land of the prieſts bought he not: (*Joſeph knew better than touch this neſt of hornets; there buzzings if rouſed might have awaked the lion. He was too wiſe a man to neglect at ſuch a ſheering time to take the church into partnerſhip with the ſtate*) for the prieſts had a portion (*as huſh-money*) aſſigned them of Pharaoh, and did eat their portion (*there is no fear of that*) which Pharoah gave them; wherefore they ſold not their land. (*for they had no occaſion.*)

Hold up your heads now, O ye landholders, ſuch are the equitable beginnings of your dominion over your depreſſed fellow-creatures! Are you not, in all countries, beholden to ſome time-taking Pharoah, ſome hunting Nimrod, or conquering Norman,

Norman, for the ſhare that ye hold of the ſpoils of mankind?

As to Pharaoh, had he been a father to his people he had not taken ſuch cruel advantage of their unequalled diſtreſs, but content with a reaſonable profit, would as in duty bound, have preſerved them in independence.

With reſpect to Joſeph, honeſt man, like miniſters in our days he was bound in conſcience to provide for his own relations in the firſt place; and if he took for himſelf and his maſter both the cat and the ſkin, that is to ſay ALL, he did not exceed what our modern Joſephs would do if they had Egyptians to deal with. However Joſeph, like many of his kidney outwitted himſelf; for when another king aroſe who knew not Joſeph, his father's houſe and his own poſterity were all uſed like the enſlaved Egyptians, and much worſe, and heavily felt the weight of that enormous power which he had ſet up. Even ſo may it befall the houſes of all oppreſſors, and from their bondage, may no Moſes ever bleſs them with deliverance.

Reaſons which the Poor have to wiſh for a Reform in Parliament.

[*From Cooper's Reply to Burke.*]

BY an EFFECTUAL Reform, however, I do not mean the paltry manœuvre of disfranchiſing the Boroughs, and adding to the County Members: nor the equally objectionable meaſure of admitting only taxable houſeholders to vote, altho' formerly I had doubts upon this ſubject. But it cannot be denied that, by this means, the larger part of the community, the moſt important part of the community, the moſt oppreſſed, the moſt induſtrious part of the community, thoſe who having

having the moſt reaſon to complain, complain the leaſt: the cottager, the mechanic, and the day-labourer, (or, as that inveterate enemy of human kind, Mr Burke, would call them, *the Swiniſh Multitude*) are placed in perpetual ſubjection to a corporation—an ariſtocracy of property, more or leſs extended. I do not mean this. It is impoſſible to defend the ſyſtem of disfranchiſing a fellow citizen, becauſe he is not ſo rich as his more favoured neighbour. Under any ſtate of ſociety, property always has had, and will have, full as much influence as it ought; and it is groſs ignorance in politics, to add ſo many artificial to the natural inequalities among men. Neither am I prepared to believe that public ſpirit and independence is excluſively confined to the rich: ſo far as my experience goes, the direct contrary is the fact; and I almoſt ſuſpect that "it is as eaſy for a cable to go "thro' the eye of a needle," as for a man of large property to be a thorough patriot. I am not prepared to believe that public ſpirit is not among the poor man's virtues, I know and confeſs the temptations he is ſometimes under, to ſacrifice his political opinions for his daily bread; but, ſo far as I have been able to judge, it is not from want of principle that the poor give way, but from want of knowledge; kept as they are, in the moſt deplorable ignorance of their political rights—encouraged to work hard and to drink hard, but to think little, and to read nothing; no wonder they ſhould barter their birth-right for a meſs of pottage, when they know too well the value of the one, and know nothing about the other. Suppoſing, however, that the want of independence may be a crime attached to poverty, is it not evident that the way to create it, if it does not exiſt, and to confirm it if it does, is to take for granted its exiſtence; Alas; among other robberies committed upon the poor, they are robbed of their good fame, and

and their honeſt character, by proud and privileged law givers: "depart, (it is in fact ſaid by the ſmall part of a nation to the larger) "depart ye "wretches, ye Swiniſh Multitude, ye Rif-Raf, "ye Scum of the earth; ye are guilty of that epi-"tome of all the crimes of the decalogue, ye are "convicted of POVERTY! What rights can ye pre-"tend to, who have not a penny in your pockets? "Away to your diſmal habitations, and your "ſcanty fair; go work and be contented." How oppoſite are the ſentiments of ſcripture and modern politicians! The Bible (in the text above quoted) declares that riches are an obſtacle in the way to the kingdom of heaven; while, among European legiſlators, poverty and virtue are deemed incompatible! Degrade a man in his own opinion, ſtigmatize him by legal ſuſpicion, take for granted that he has no character to loſe; and you go the ſure way to work to make him in reality what you believe him to be. We have done ſo by the Jews. On the contrary, let him know that you place confidence in his integrity; that he *has* a character to loſe by improper behaviour, and that you expect as a matter of courſe that he will act as he ought—the chances are, that he will feel his own dignity, and juſtify the expectations you entertain of his good conduct. Laws make manners. It is a crime, aye, and a foul crime againſt human nature, ſyſtematically to debaſe in the eye of the public, and in their own opinion, ſo large a portion of mankind as THE POOR unhappily form.

Moreover, thoſe who have little, deſerve to have that little the more carefully protected; the leſs a man poſſeſſes, the leſs he can ſpare from his narrow ſtore; and, at any rate, even the pooreſt are poſſeſſors of the moſt invaluable ſpecies of property, life, liberty, and labour. To infringe upon theſe directly or indirectly, without the conſent of the owner, is neither more nor leſs than tyranny in

in the law that enacts it, and ſlavery in the object who is compelled to ſubmit to it.

Neither can it be truly ſaid, that the poor man pays no taxes; for he expends the produce of his labour in the moſt productive articles of modern taxation, the neceſſaries of life. The fire with which he warms his frozen limbs, and dreſſes his ſcanty morſel—the candle that enables his family to toil at the ſpinning-wheel, or the loom, during thoſe hours which the middling claſſes devote to relaxation from buſineſs, and the great to the zenith of their pleaſurable career—the ſmall-beer that waſhes down his homely repaſt—every morſel of his food, every article of his apparel, and even the ſcanty furniture of his cottage, are all affected by the extravagance and miſmanagement of thoſe who govern. The more taxes are required, the more hours he muſt labour to ſupply his wants, and the more diſtant his proſpect of obtaining the comforts and conveniences of exiſtence.

How little the intereſts of the poor are taken care of, and how neceſſary it is that the voice of the poor man ſhould be heard with attention and reſpect in the houſe of commons, the numerous incloſure bills are pregnant inſtances, where, as in the fable of Nathan the prophet, the poor man's lamb is ſeized, to encreaſe the numerous herds of his richer and more powerful neighbours. Whereas, inſtead of dividing the commons and waſtes among the rich, natural juſtice and good policy would teach us to diſtribute them among the poor.† But we take good care to fulfil, with the moſt ſcrupulous orthodoxy, that text of ſcripture, "Unto "every one that hath, ſhall be given, and he ſhall

† There is a very important Book too little noticed, an Eſſay on the Right to Property in Land, by Dr. Ogilvie, 8vo.

See Spence alſo on the ſame ſubject.

ble

"have abundance; but from him that hath not, "shall be taken away, even that which he "hath."

A ſtill more flagrant inſtance of cruelty and injuſtice toward the poor, is the practice of *impreſſing*. The labour of the poor man conſtitutes the whole of his wealth, and his domeſtic connections almoſt the whole of his happineſs. But on a ſudden, under the dubious authority of a preſs-warrant, he is cut off from his peaceful habitation and domeſtic ſociety, and forcibly dragged on board the floating priſon of a tender: he is compelled to labour in the dreadful ſervice of murdering his fellow-creatures at the command of his ſuperiors, and paid ſuch ſcanty wages, not as he can earn or deſerves, but as the niggardly ſyſtem of government finance thinks fit to allow. His family, mean while, who look up to him for comfort and ſubſiſtence, ignorant of his misfortune, are anxiouſly expecting his wonted return; perhaps their homely repaſt for the night depended on his earnings for the day; but his uſual hour of return to his family is gone by; each paſſing footſtep, each noiſe of diſtant ſimilarity, is eagerly liſtened to in vain: Hope ſtill draws out the lengthened evening, till a ſleepleſs night of lamentation and deſpair ſucceeds the dreary melancholy hours of ſucceſſive diſappointment and fruitleſs expectation. The next, or ſucceeding day, brings the mournful tidings of his deſtiny; and leaves the widowed wife (perhaps the pregnant mother) to eke out a comfortleſs exiſtence, under the accumulated preſſure of want, and labour, and ſorrow, and diſeaſe.

Innumerable are the caſes of this nature, that muſt of neceſſity attend the practice of impreſſing for ſoldiers and mariners. But the miſeries of the lower claſſes of ſociety are borne in torpid ſilence, and patient reſignation. The feeble voice of ſuffering poverty can ſeldom extend beyond the hum-

ble limits of her own habitation; ſtill leſs can it penetrate the joyous manſions of the great, or intrude on the pompous occupations of the ſtateſman:—otherwiſe, it might truly ſuggeſt, that even if WARS *be* neceſſary, this tyrannical ſyſtem of violence and robbery is not ſo. It is the offſpring of ſtate-parſimony alone. Why not add a fourth. or a half, to the common wages, to induce volunteers? Why not double the pay?—Why not?—Becauſe the over-grown fortunes of the rich land-holders, the monopolizers of waſtes and commons, would experience an almoſt imperceptible diminution. While, by the good old faſhion of dragging away the poor, by means of a preſs-gang, no taxes are laid upon the wealthy; and a due portion of the Swiniſh multitude, the ſcum of the earth, are periodically ſwept away as food for powder.

Such are ſome among the numerous hardſhips of which the Britiſh poor have too much reaſon to complain. Indigence, one would think, is of itſelf a ſufficient evil to an inhabitant of ſociety, without being held out as a reproach, or converted into a crime. Why then ſhould ſlavery be added to poverty, and the rights of man be emerged in the misfortunes of the citizen? A citizen, indeed, is an improper appellation; the poor man is not a citizen: for being denied, *even by the ſpirit of the conſtitution*, the privilege of repreſentation, he is ſubjected to the will of thoſe who make, and the power of thoſe who execute the laws; and he is at beſt but an inhabitant of his native land, for the benefit of his richer neighbour.

Hence I cannot help regarding any ſcheme of reform as inſignificant, to ſay no worſe of it, which ſhall not include in the ſcheme itſelf (without truſting to diſtant promiſes and fair profeſſions) ſome effectual means of raiſing and meliorating the condition of what are called the lower claſſes of the people. *Patriots* (as Dr. Johnſon very ſhrewdly

and

and ſarcaſtically remarked) *are fond of levelling down to themſelves, but they ſeldom propoſe to level up to themſelves.* It is fit that this reproach ſhould be done away from the advocates of a good cauſe. It is the people, the lower claſſes of ſociety, that conſtitute the bulk of mankind, that form the great maſs of capability, and preſent to the politician the moſt important object of national improvement. For my own part, I care little in compariſon for a reform that ſhall ſerve merely to diminiſh the taxes paid by the rich, or gratify the wiſhes of ſenatorial orators or would-be ſtateſmen, whether in or out of parliament. Away with ſuch half-meaſured reformers—men of rank and reſpectability, as they ſometimes call themſelves; who deſire no farther reform than to extend the ariſtocratic monopoly of power to that circle in which themſelves are included; who make the people the ſtalking-horſe to their deſigns, and the ſtep-ladder to the official ſituations which they aſpire to obtain; who have temperance and moderation in their mouths, and pride and ambition in their hearts; and who raiſe the hue and cry of violence, innovation, and republicaniſm, againſt every man who looks beyond the petty intereſts of a party, or includes in his notions of patriotiſm a deſire to promote not the privileges of a corporation, but the rights of man.

Hence, alſo, it is to me no matter of ſurprize that the people, the multitude, feel no intereſt in the repeated outcries for parliamentary reform, when the evils they feel are hardly touched upon, and advantages held out which they have no ambition to enjoy. Who has yet talked of dividing the waſtes and the commons—of aboliſhing tythes—of rewarding population—of comfortably providing for the old age of the labourer, the manufacturer, the artificer—of exonerating the poor from the indirect taxes which they pay without

knowing it; as well as from the direct impositions which ministers secretly lay on—and above all of providing ample means of PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, that the poor man may know what his rights are, and what is the object of government, and what are the duties of the servants of the people. That he may become if he chuses a human creature, and not a machine; and having the capacity of mental improvement given to him by his Maker, that he may use as he ought the talent thus committed to his care. Why should the truth be concealed? There is among us too much inequality of rank—too much inequality of riches—too much inequality of labour. The poor work too much, and know too little: incessant labour stupifies the mental faculties, and produces an inclination to satisfy the cravings of nature beyond the necessities of nature. Hence the amusements of the poor are gross; their hours of relaxation intemperate, and habits of drunkenness and expence are insensibly formed, till the whole man is degraded, and ignorance and poverty linked with him as companions for life. I wish it were not true that these habits are rather encouraged than suppressed, that nine tenths of the nation may be mere machines to execute the labour, of which the other tenth enjoys the profit.

My notions then of an effectual reform in the representation of the people would take in the whole of that aristocratical apostate the Duke of Richmond's idea, in his Letter to Colonel Sharman. I would have the man, whose stake in the community consists of life, and liberty, and labour, with a penny in his pocket, to have an equal voice in the choice of legislators, by whose laws that stake is to be protected, with another man who has life, and liberty, and labour, with a hundred thousand pounds in his pocket. In comparison with the three first articles of the catalogue, which are common to all men, (and which are the means to the

acquisition

acquiſition of the reſt) the laſt is of trifling moment; it is the ſmall duſt of the balance, an accident of exiſtence; of artificial, and not of natural importance; which when weighed againſt the ſolid gifts of nature to her common offspring, will kick the beam.

ON EQUALITY.

[*From Cato's Letters.*]

AS liberty can never ſubſiſt without equality, nor equality be long preſerved without an *Agrarian* law, or ſomething like it; ſo when men's riches are become immeaſurably or ſurprizingly great, a people, who regard their own ſecurity, ought to make a ſtrict enquiry how they came by them, and oblige them to take down their own ſize, for fear of terrifying the community, or maſtering it. In every country and under every government, particular men may be too rich.

If the *Romans* had well obſerved the *Agrarian* law, by which the extent of every citizen's eſtate was aſcertained, ſome citizens could never have riſen ſo high as they did above others; and conſequently, one man could never have been ſet above all the reſt, and have eſtabliſhed, as *Cæſar* did at laſt, a tyranny in that great and glorious ſtate. I have always thought that an enquiry into men's fortunes, eſpecially monſtrous fortunes raiſed out of the public, like *Milton*'s infernal palace, as it were in an inſtant, was of more importance to a nation, than ſome other enquiries which I have heard of.

But, will ſome ſay, is it a crime to be rich? Yes, certainly, at the public expence, or to the danger of the public. A man may be too rich for a ſubject; even the revenues of kings may be too

large. It is one of the effects of arbitrary power, that the prince has too much, and the people too little; and ſuch inequality may be the cauſe too of arbitrary power. It is as aſtoniſhing as it is melancholy, to travel through a whole country, as one may through many in *Europe*, gaſping under endleſs impoſts, groaning under dragoons and poverty, and all to make a wanton and luxurious court, filled for the moſt, with the worſt and vileſt of all men. Good God! What hard-heartedneſs and barbarity, to ſtarve perhaps half a province, to make a gay garden! And yet ſometimes even this groſs wickedneſs is called public ſpirit, becauſe forſooth a few workmen and labourers are maintained out of the bread and the blood of half a million.

In thoſe countries, were the judgment of the people conſulted, things would go better; but they are deſpiſed, and eſteemed by their governors *happy enough, if they do not eat graſs*; and having no repreſentatives, or ſhare in the government, they have no remedy. Such indeed is their miſery, that their caſe would be greatly mended, if they could change conditions with the beaſts of the field; for then being deſtined to be eaten, they would be better fed: ſuch a misfortune is it to them that their governors are not *cannibals!* Oh HAPPY Britain may'ſt thou continue ever ſo!

For a concluſion: As the preſervation of property is the ſource of national happineſs, whoever violates property, or leſſens or endangers it, common ſenſe ſays, that he is an enemy to his country, and public ſpirit ſays, that he ſhould feel its vengeance. As yet in *England*, we can ſpeak ſuch BOLD truths; and we never dread to ſee the day, when it will be ſafer for one man to be a traytor, than for another man, or for a whole people, to call him ſo. *Wherever public ſpirit is found dangerous, ſhe will ſoon be found dead.*

POPULAR

POPULAR LICENTIOUSNESS, OR ANARCHY BUT OF SHORT DURATION.

[*From Dr. Price on Civil Liberty.*]

GOVERNMENT is an inſtitution for the benefit of the people governed, which they have power to model as they pleaſe; and to ſay, that they can have too much of this power, is to ſay, that there ought to be a power in the ſtate ſuperior to that which gives it Being, and from which all juriſdiction in it is derived. Licentiouſneſs, which has been commonly mentioned, as an extreme of liberty, is indeed its oppoſite. It is government by the will of rapacious individuals in oppoſition to the will of the community, made known and declared in the laws. A free ſtate, at the ſame time that it is free itſelf, makes all its members free by excluding licentiouſneſs, and guarding their perſons and property and good name againſt inſult. It is the end of all juſt government, at the ſame time that it ſecures the liberty of the public againſt *foreign* injury, to ſecure the liberty of the individual againſt *private* injury. I do not, therefore, think it ſtrictly juſt to ſay, that it belongs to the nature of government to entrench on private liberty. It ought never to do this, except as far as the exerciſe of private liberty encroaches on the liberties of others. That is; it is licentiouſneſs it reſtrains, and liberty itſelf only when uſed to deſtroy liberty.

It appears from hence, that licentiouſneſs and deſpotiſm are more nearly allied than is commonly imagined. They are both alike inconſiſtent with liberty, and the true end of government; nor is there any other difference between them, than that the one is the licentiouſneſs of *great* men, and the other the licentiouſneſs of *little* men; or that, by the one, the perſons and property of a people are ſubject

ſubject to outrage and invaſion from a king, or a lawleſs body of *grandees*; and that, by the other, they are ſubject to the like outrage from a *lawleſs mob*.—In avoiding one of theſe evils, mankind have often run into the other. But all well conſtituted governments guard equally againſt both. Indeed of the two, the laſt is, on ſeveral accounts, the leaſt to be dreaded, and has done the leaſt miſchief. It may be truly ſaid, that if licentiouſneſs has deſtroyed its thouſands, deſpotiſm has deſtroyed its millions. The former, having little power, and no ſyſtem to ſupport it, neceſſarily finds its own remedy; and *a people ſoon get out of the tumult and anarchy attending it*. But a deſpotiſm, wearing the form of government, and being armed with its force, is an evil not to be conquered without dreadful ſtruggles. It goes on from age to age, debaſing the human faculties, levelling all diſtinctions, and preying on the rights and bleſſings of ſociety.—It deſerves to be added, that in a ſtate diſturbed by licentiouſneſs, there is an animation which is favourable to the human mind, and which puts it upon exerting its powers. But in a ſtate habituated to a deſpotiſm, all is ſtill and torpid. A dark and ſavage tyranny ſtifles every effort of genius; and the mind loſes all its ſpirit and dignity.

THE TRIUMPH OF TRUTH AND LIBERTY.

BY RICHARD LEE,

Author of a Volume of Poems lately Publiſhed.

ROUSE, indolent mortals! why will ye remain
Thus neuter in LIBRTY's cauſe?
With one noble effort unrivet the chain,
That binds you to tyranny's laws!
In vain you petition, and urge your complaints,
And mournfully ſeek for redreſs,

The

The heart of oppreſſion *diſdains* to relent,
Quite callous to all your diſtreſs.

The FATHER OF MERCIES has given to MAN,
This earth, with the light and the air;
Ten thouſand kind bleſſings his liberal hand,
Invites ALL his creatures to ſhare;
But tyrants would gladly monopolize all,
Or SELL US what freely was given,——
Then will ye ſubmit to this baſeſt of thrall,
And *purchaſe* the free gifts of Heaven?

Let *tyrants* not think the CREATOR looks down,
With total indifference on them;
HE ſoon will aſſert the juſt rights of his throne,
And the glory that's due to his name.
The ſkies ſeem to redden with terrible wrath,
And the grave is preparing their beds;
The ſtorm now impending is pregnant with death,
And ready to burſt on their heads.

In vain they confederate with Hell and with Rome,
To keep us in ignorance bound:
OMNIPOTENT TRUTH ſhall their malice o'ercome,
And ſpread the wide univerſe round.
Sweet LIBERTY civil and ſacred ſhall fly,
On the wings of the GOSPEL OF PEACE;
Before the bright blaze ſuperſtition ſhall die,
And War and oppreſſion ſhall ceaſe.

Thou Earth! and ye Heavens! exultingly ſing,
For MAN ſhall be fetter'd no more;
No more be the jeſt of the *courtier* and *king*,
The *ſlave* and the *ſcorn* of their pow'r.
All nature look gay, and creation rejoice,
For MAN is now doom'd to be free!
And PROVIDENCE ſpeaks with determined voice,
To confirm the immortal decree.

ERSKINE's

ERSKINE's DEFENCE OF PAINE,

AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

(*Conninued from Page* 157, vol. 2.)

THAT his [i. e. the kings] title is from man, and from every generation of man, without regard to the determination of former ones, hear from Mr. Locke, "*All men*" ſay they, (i. e. Filmer and his adherents,) "*are born under government,* "*and therefore they cannot be at liberty to begin a new* "*one. Every one is born a ſubject to his father, or his* "*prince, and is therefore under the perpetual tie of* "*ſubjection and allegiance.*" But it is plain, mankind "never owned nor conſidered any ſuch natural "*ſubjection that they were born in,* to one or to the "other, that tied them, without their own con- "ſents, to a ſubjection to them and their heirs."

"It is true, that whatever engagements or pro- "miſes any one has made for himſelf, he is under "the obligation of them, but cannot, by any com- "pact whatſoever, bind his children or poſterity; "for his ſon, when a man, being altogether as free "as his father, *any act of the father can no more give* "*away the liberty of the ſon, than it can of any body* "*elſe.*"

So much for Mr. Locke's opinion of the Rights of Mankind. Let us now examine his ideas of the ſuppoſed danger of truſting them with them.

"Perhaps it will be ſaid, that the people being "ignorant, and always diſcontented, to lay the "foundation of government in the unſteady opi- "nion and uncertain humour of the people, is to "expoſe it to certain ruin; and no government "will be able long to ſubſiſt, if the people may ſet "up a new legiſlature, whenever they take "offence at the old one. To this, I anſwer quite "the contrary: People are not ſo eaſily got out of "their old forms, as ſome are apt to ſuggeſt; they

"are

" are hardly to be prevailed with to amend the ac-
" knowledged faults in the frame they have been
" accuſtomed to; and if there be any original de-
" fects, or adventitious ones introduced by time, or
" corruption, it is not an eaſy thing to be changed,
" even when all the world ſees there is an oppor-
" tunity for it. This ſlowneſs and averſion in the
" people to quit their old Conſtitutions, has in
" the many revolutions which have been ſeen in
" this kingdom, in this and former ages, ſtill kept
" us to, or after ſome interval of fruitleſs attempts,
" ſtill brought us back again to our old legiſlative
" of kings, lords, and commons; and whatever
" provocations have made the crown be taken from
" ſome of our princes heads, they never carried
" the people ſo far as to place it in another line."

Gentlemen, I wiſh I had ſtrength to go on with all that is material, but I have read enough, not only to maintain the true principles of government, but to put to ſhame the narrow ſyſtem of diſtruſting the people.

It may be ſaid, that Mr. Locke went great lengths in his poſitions, to beat down the contrary doctrine of divine right, which was then endangering the new eſtabliſhment. But that cannot be objected to Mr. David Hume, who maintains the ſame doctrine; ſpeaking of the Magna Charta in his hiſtory, vol. 2. Page 88, he ſays, " It muſt be
" confeſſed, that the former articles of the great
" Charter, contain ſuch mitigations and explana-
" tions of the feudal law, as are reaſonable and
" equitable; and that the latter involve all the
" chief outlines of a legal government, and pro-
" vide for the equal diſtribution of juſtice and
" free enjoyment of property: the great object for
" which political ſociety was founded by men,
" *which the people have a perpetual and unalienable*
" *right to recall*; and which no time, nor precedent,
" nor ſtatute, nor poſitive inſtitution, ought to

" deter

deter from keeping ever uppermoſt in their "thoughts and attention."

Theſe authorities are ſufficient to reſt on, yet I cannot omit Mr. Burke himſelf, who is, if poſſible, ſtill more diſtinct on the ſubject, ſpeaking not of the ancient people of England, but of colonies planted almoſt within our memories, he ſays, "If there be one fact in the world perfectly clear, "it is this; that the diſpoſition of the people of "America, is wholly averſe to any other than a "free government, and this is indication enough "to any honeſt ſtateſman, how he ought to adapt "whatever power he finds in his hands to their "caſe. If any aſk me what a free government is, "I anſwer, THAT IT IS WHAT THE PEOPLE "THINK SO; AND THAT THEY, AND NOT I, "ARE THE NATURAL, LAWFUL AND COMPE-"TENT JUDGES OF THIS MATTER. If they prac-"tically allow me a greater degree of authority "over them than is conſiſtent with any correct "ideas of perfect freedom, I ought to thank them "for ſo great a truſt, and not to endeavour to prove "from thence, that they have reaſoned amiſs, and "that having gone ſo far, by analogy, they muſt "hereafter have no enjoyment but by my plea-"ſure."

Gentlemen, I am ſorry to feel my time conſiderably conſumed, before I am arrived at what I conceive to be the material ſubject of your conſideration. For all that I have been ſtating now, is only to ſhew, that there is not that novelty in the opinions of the defendant, that ſhould lead you to think that he does not *bona fide* entertain them, much leſs when connected with the hiſtory of his life, which I therefore brought in review before you—But ſtill the great queſtion remains unargued: Had he a right to promulgate theſe opinions? Gentlemen, if he entertained them, I ſhall argue that he had—And although my arguments upon the

the Liberty of the Preſs, may not to day be honoured with your, or the court's approbation, I ſhall retire not at all diſheartened, conſoling myſelf with the reflection, that a ſeaſon may arrive for their reception.——The moſt eſſential freedoms of mankind have been but ſlowly and gradually received, and ſo very late, indeed, do ſome of them come to maturity, that notwithſtanding the attorney-general tells you that the very queſtion I am now agitating, is moſt peculiarly for *your* conſideration, AS A JURY, under our ANCIENT conſtitution, yet I muſt remind both you and him, that your juriſdiction to conſider and deal with it at all in judgment, is but A YEAR OLD.——When before that late period, I ventured to maintain this very RIGHT OF A JURY, over the queſtion of libel under the ſame *ancient* conſtitution. (I do not mean before my lord, for the matter was gone to reſt in the courts, at leaſt long before he came to ſit where he does.) But when before a noble and reverend magiſtrate of the moſt exalted underſtanding, and of the moſt uncorrupted integrity, to give effect to it, I had occaſion to maintain it, he treated me, not with diſregard, indeed, for of that his nature was incapable; but he put me aſide with indulgence, as you do a child while it is liſping its prattle out of ſeaſon: and if this had been tried then, inſtead of now, the defendant muſt have been inſtantly convicted on the proof of the publication, whatever *you* might have thought of his caſe.—Yet, I have lived to ſee it reſolved, by an almoſt unanimous vote of the whole Parliament of England, that I had all along been in the right. If this be not an awful leſſon of caution concerning opinions, where are ſuch leſſons to be read!

Gentlemen, I have inſiſted, at great length, upon the origin of government, being in the conſent of the people, and detailed the authorities which you have heard upon the ſubject, becauſe I conſider it to be not only a ſupport, but, indeed, the only foundation of the liberty of the preſs. If Mr.

Burke be right in his principles of government, I admit that the preſs, in my ſence of its Freedom, ought not to be free, *nor free in any ſenſe at all*; and that all addreſſes to the people upon the ſubject of government, and all ſpeculations of amendment, of what kind or nature ſoever, are illegal and criminal:—For, if the people have, without poſſible recall, delegated all their authorities, they have no juriſdiction to act and therefore none to think, upon ſuch ſubjects, and it is a libel to arraign government or any of its acts, before thoſe that have no juriſdiction to correct them. But on the other hand, as it is a ſettled rule in the law of England, that the ſubject may always addreſs a competent juriſdiction on every matter within it, no legal argument can ſhake the freedom of the preſs in any ſenſe of it, if I am ſupporaed in my doctrines concerning the great unalienable rights of the people, to change or reform their government.

Gentlemen, it is becauſe the Liberty of the Preſs reſolves itſelf into this great iſſue, that it has been in every time and country, the laſt liberty which ſubjects have been able to wreſt from power.—— Other liberties are held under governments, but the liberty of opinion keeps governments themſelves in due ſubjection to their duties. This has produced the martyrdom of truth in every age, and *the world has only purged itſelf from ignorance with the innocent blood of thoſe who have enlightened it.*

Gentlemen, my ſtrength and time are waſted, and I can only make this melancholy hiſtory paſs like a ſhadow before you.

I ſhall begin with the grand type and example.

(To be continued.)

POPULAR LICENTIOUSNESS OR ANARCHY BUT OF SHORT DURATION.

(From Dr. Price on Civil Liberty.)

GOVERNMENT is an inſtitution for the benefit of the people governed, which they have

have power to model as they pleaſe; and to ſay, that they can have too much of this power, is to ſay, that there ought to be a power in the ſtate ſuperior to that which gives it being, and from which all juriſdiction in it is derived.—Licentiouſneſs, which has been commonly mentioned, as an extreme of liberty, is indeed its oppoſite. It is government by the will of rapacious individuals, in oppoſition to the will of the community, made known and declared in the laws. A free ſtate, at the ſame time that it is free itſelf, makes all its members free by excluding licentiouſneſs, and guarding their perſons and property and good name againſt inſult. It is the end of all juſt government, at the ſame time that it ſecures the liberty of the public againſt *foreign* injury, to ſecure the liberty of the individual againſt *private* injury. I do not therefore, think it ſtrictly juſt to ſay, that it belongs to the nature of government to entrench on private liberty. It ought never to do this, except as far as the exerciſe of private liberty encroaches on the liberties of others. That is; it is licentiouſneſs it reſtrains, and liberty itſelf only when uſed to deſtroy liberty.

It appears from hence, that licentiouſneſs and deſpotiſm are more nearly allied than is commonly imagined. They are both alike inconſiſtent with liberty, and the true end of government; nor is there any other difference between them, than that the one is the Licentiouſneſs of *great* men, and the other the Licentiouſneſs of *little* men; or that, by the one, the perſons and property of a people are ſubject to outrage and invaſion from a king, or a lawleſs body of *grandees*; and that, by the other, they are ſubject to the like outrage from a *lawleſs mob*.—In avoiding one of theſe evils, mankind have often run into the other. But all well conſtituted governments guard equally againſt both. Indeed of the two, the laſt is, on ſeveral accounts, the leaſt

to be dreaded, and has done the leaſt miſchief. It may be truly ſaid, that if licentiouſneſs has deſtroyed its thouſands, deſpotiſm has deſtroyed its millions. The former, having little power, and no ſyſtem to ſupport it, neceſſarily finds its own remedy; and *a people ſoon get out of the tumult and anarchy attending it.* But a deſpotiſm, wearing the form of government, and being armed with its force, is an evil not to be conquered without dreadful ſtruggles. It goes on from age to age, debaſing the human faculties, levelling all diſtinctions, and preying on the rights and bleſſings of Society.—— It deſerves to be added, that in a ſtate diſturbed by licentiouſneſs, there is an animation which is favourable to the human mind, and which puts it upon exerting its powers. But in a ſtate habituated to a deſpotiſm, all is ſtill and torpid, a dark and ſavage tyranny ſtifles every effort of genius; and the mind loſes all its ſpirit and dignity.

The probable Influence of the French Revolution on the Liberties of Europe.

From a Letter to Mr. Pitt, *on his Apoſtacy from the cauſe of Parliamentary Reform.*

NOTHING indeed can be more evident, than that a mighty change in the direction of the public ſentiments of Europe, is likely to ariſe from that revolution, whether it be ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful. If it be ſucceſsful, the ſpirit of extreme democracy, is likely to ſpread over all Europe, and to ſwallow up in a volcanic eruption, every remnant of monarchy and of nobility in the civilized world. The probability of ſuch effects is ſo ſtrongly believed by the enemies of that revolution, that it is the ground of their alarm, the ſubject of their invective, and the pretext of their hoſtilities. It

was

was to prevent ſuch conſequences, that Mr. Burke ſo benevolently counſelled the princes of Europe to undertake that *cruſade* in which they are now ſo piouſly engaged.

If, on the other hand, the efforts of France be unſucceſsful; if her liberties be deſtroyed, there can be little doubt that ſuch a ſhock will moſt powerfully impel the current of opinion to the ſide of monarchy: a direction in which it will be likely for ſeveral ages to continue. The example of the deſtruction of the great French Republic would diffuſe, diſmay, and ſubmiſſion among a multitude, who only judge by events; and the bloody ſcenes which muſt attend ſuch a deſtruction, would indeed be ſufficient to appal the ſterneſt and moſt ardent champions of liberty. The ſpirit of Europe would crouch under the dark ſhade of deſpotiſm, in dead repoſe and fearful obedience. The royal confederacy which had effected this ſubverſion, would doubtleſs continue its concert and its efforts. The principle of maintaining the internal independence of nations, being deſtroyed by the example of France, no barrier would any longer be oppoſed to the arbitrary will of kings. The internal laws of all the European ſtates would be dictated by a council of deſpots, and thus the influence of moral cauſes on public opinion, co-operating with the combined ſtrength and policy of princes, "every faint veſtage and looſe remnant" of free government will be ſwept from the face of the earth.

FAMILY DISTRESS,

On a ſecond Morning's conteſt for Freedom after the Murders of the firſt.

SEE from his ſeat th' indignant Briton ſtart,
Fire in his eyes, and freedom at his heart;

Reſolv'd to brave the dangers of the day,
Tho' hell ſhould yawn, and fiends obſtruct his way:
His faithful wife, with ſorrow's gloom o'ercaſt,
And trembling for the future by the paſt,
Implores his ſtay by all the tend'reſt ties,
And fills the mournful manſion with her cries!
Their numerous offspring catch the mother's fears,
And urge their joint requeſt with pray'rs and tears;
The youngeſt born, diſtreſt, it knows not why!
While ſilent anguiſh ſwims in either eye,
Sobs on its mother's breaſt, till tears o'erflow,
And with its ſcreams completes the ſcene of woe.

Is there in nature ought ſo dead to ſenſe,
At ſo much ſoftneſs, ſo much innocence!
Diſtreſs ſo urg'd to pierce the hardeſt heart,
Could ſtand unmov'd—nor bear a manly part.

His tears the father could no more controul,
But felt their ſorrows to his inmoſt ſoul,
Silent he paus'd—unwilling to decline;
Yet half relenting of the great deſign!
When to his ſoul fair freedom ſtood confeſt,
Effac'd the ſenſe of grief, and ſteel'd his breaſt.

"Dear to my ſoul—forbear the ungrateful taſk,
"Nor preſs my ſtay—ye know not what ye aſk!
"Oh can a Briton unconcern'd behold,
"His rights invaded, and his country ſold!
"See freedom tottering on the brink of fate,
"Her friends impriſon'd and her foes elate!
"No—one more glorious ſtruggle will we make—
"And if we fail—we'll periſh for her ſake.

"And thou, my deareſt wife, thy tears reſtrain,
"To wiſh my ſtay, were criminal as vain,
"Women ſtill love the gen'rous and the brave,
"And would'ſt thou for thy huſband claſp a ſlave?
"A willing ſlave——and on fair albion's iſle!—
"The wilds of Afric know no ſlave ſo vile.

"And

" And you, my loves, when ſome few years ſhall roll,
" And freedom's joys ſhall open on the ſoul:
" You, who hang round me with imploring eyes,
" And vanquiſh nature with your tears and cries,
" Should we the grand occaſion now forego,
" Shall brand the authors of a nation's woe;
" Wretches who leagu'd their country to enſlave,
" And me—ev'n me—ſhall curſe when in my grave,
" Curſe me for having baſely ſkulk'd away,
" And left your heritage the ruffian's prey!

" Oh at that dreadful thought, from ev'ry part,
" The tide tumultuous ruſhes on my heart!
" All coward fears henceforward I diſmiſs,
" Ev'n death is lovely in a cauſe like this!
" Freedom alone to life can reliſh give,
" And ceaſing to be free—I'll ceaſe to live."

ON THE ABUSE OF POWER AND PUBLIC PROPERTY.

[*From Dodſley's Poems.*]

Them morn and evening joy eternal greets,
And for them thouſands and ten thouſands moil,
Gathering from land, and ocean honied ſweets,
For them, who in ſoft indolence the while
And ſlumb'ring peace enjoy the luſcious ſpoil;
And as they view around the careful bees,
Foreſpent with labour and inceſſant toil,
With the ſweet contraſt learn themſelves to pleaſe,
And heighten by compare the luxury of eaſe.

Ungenerous man, quoth then the fairy knight,
That can rejoice to ſee another's woe!
And thou unworthy of that glory bright,
Wherewith the Gods have deck'd thy princely brow,
That doth on ſloth and gluttony beſtow,
The hard-earn'd fruits of induſtry and pain,

And

And to the dogs the labourer's morſel throw,
Unmindful of the hand that ſow'd the grain,
The poor earth-trodden root of all thy greatneſs vain,

Oh foul abuſe of ſacred majeſty,
That boaſteth her fair ſelf from Heav'n ysprong!
Where are the marks of thy divinity?
Truth, mercy, juſtice ſteady, bold and ſtrong,
To aid the meek, and curb oppreſſive wrong?
Where is the care and love of public good,
That to the people's father doth belong?
Where the vice-gerent of that bounteous God,
Who bids diſpenſe to all, what he for all beſtow'd?

ON KINGS.

From Godwin's *Enquiry concerning Political juſtice.*
Continued from Page 139, vol. 2.

OF LIMITED MONARCHY.

I PROCEED to conſider monarchy, not as it exiſts in countries where it is unlimited and deſpotic, but, as in certain inſtances it has appeared, a branch merely of the general conſtitution.

Here it is only neceſſary to recollect the objections which applied to it in its unqualified ſtate, in order to perceive that they bear upon it with the ſame explicitneſs, if not with great force, under every poſſible modification. Still the government is founded in falſehood, affirming that a certain individual is eminently qualified for an important ſituation, whoſe qualifications are perhaps ſcarcely ſuperior to thoſe of the meaneſt member of the community. Still the government is founded in injuſtice, becauſe it raiſes one man for a permanent duration over the heads of the reſt

of the community, not for any moral recommendation he poſſeſſes, but arbitrarily and by accident. Still it reads a conſtant aud powerful leſſon of immorality, to the people at large, or exhibiting pomp and ſplendour, and magnificence, inſtead of virtue, as the index to general veneration and eſteem. The individual is, not leſs than in the moſt abſolute monarchy, unfited by his education to become either reſpectable or uſeful. He is unjuſtly and cruelly placed in a ſituation that engenders ignorance, weakneſs and preſumption, after having been ſtripped in his infancy, of all the energies that ſhould defend him againſt the inroads of theſe adverſaries. Finally, his exiſtence implies that of a train of courtiers and a ſeries of intrigue, ofſervility, ſecret influence, capricious partialities and pecuniary corruption. So true is the obſervation of Monteſquieu, that "we muſt not expect under a monarchy to find the people virtuous."

But if we conſider the queſtion more narrowly, we ſhall perhaps find, that unlimited monarchy has other abſurdities and vices which are peculiarly its own. In an abſolute ſovereignty, the king may if he pleaſe be his own miniſter, but in a limited one a miniſtry and a cabinet are eſſential parts of the conſtitution. In an abſolute ſovereignty, princes are acknowledged to be reſponſible only to God; but in a limited one there is a reſponſibility of a very different nature. In a limited monarchy there are checks, one branch of the government counteracting the exceſſes of another, and a check without reſponſibility, is the moſt flagrant of all contradictions.

It was a confuſed feeling of theſe truths, that introduced into limited monarchies, the principle "that the king can do no wrong†." Obſerve

† This, it muſt be confeſſed, is a maxim of the Engliſh law; but, whatever meaning it may have, the examples of Edward II. Richard II Charles I. and James II. ſufficiently prove that the kings of England are neither incapable of doing wrong nor exempt from being puniſhed for it. Note added by one of the Swiniſh multitude.

the

the peculiar consistency of this proceeding. Consider what a specimen it affords us of plain dealing, frankness and unalterable sincerity. An individual is first appointed and endowed with the most momentous prerogatives, and then it is pretended that, not he, but other men are answerable for the abuse of these prerogatives. This pretence may appear tolerable to men bred among the fictions of law, but justice, truth and virtue revolt from it with indignation.

Having first invented this fiction, it becomes the business of such constitutions as nearly as possible to realise it. A ministry must be regularly formed; they must concert together; and the measures they execute must originate in their own discretion. The king must be reduced as nearly as possible to a cypher. So far as he fails to be completely so, the constitution must be imperfect.

What sort of a figure is it that this miserable wretch exhibits in the face of the world? Every thing is with great parade transacted in his name. He assumes all the inflated and oriental style which has been already described, and which indeed was upon that occasion transcribed from the practice of a limited monarchy. We find him like Pharaoh's frogs "in our houses and upon our beds, in our ovens, and our kneading troughs."

Now observe the man himself to whom all this importance is annexed. To be idle is the abstract of all his duties. He is paid an immense revenue only to dance and to eat, to wear a scarlet robe and a crown. He may not choose any one of his measures. He must listen with docility to the consultations of his ministers, and sanction with a ready assent whatever they determine. He must not hear any other advisers for they are his known and constitutional counsellors. He must not express to any man his opinion, for that would be a sinister and unconstitutional interference.

To

To be abſolutely perfect he muſt have no opinion, but be the vacant and colourleſs mirror, by which theirs is reflected. He ſpeaks, for they have taught him what he ſhould ſay; he affixes his ſignature, for they inform him that it is neceſſary and proper.

A limited monarchy in the articles I have deſcribed, might be executed with great facility and applauſe, if a king were what ſuch a conſtitution endeavours to render him, a mere puppet, regulated by pullies and wires*. But it is perhaps the moſt egregious and palpable of all political miſtakes to imagine that we can reduce a human being to this ſtate of neutrality and torpor. He will not exert any uſeful and true activity, but he will be far from paſſive. The more he is excluded from that energy, that characteriſes wiſdom and virtue, the more depraved and unreaſonable will he be in his caprices. Is any promotion vacant, and do we expect that he will never think of beſtowing it on a favourite, or of proving by an occaſional election of his own, that he really exiſts? This promotion may happen to be of the utmoſt importance to the public welfare; or, if not; every promotion unmeritedly given is pernicious to national virtue, and an upright minister will refuſe to aſſent to it. A king does not fail to hear his power and prerogatives extolled, and he will no doubt at ſome time wiſh to eſſay their reality in an unprovoked war againſt a foreign nation or againſt his own citizens.

Such then is the genuine and uncontrovertible ſcene of a mixed monarchy. An individual placed at the ſummit of the edifice, the centre and the fountain of honour, and who is neutral, or muſt ſeem neutral in the current tranſactions of his government. This is the firſt leſſon of honour, virtue and truth, which mixed monarchy reads to its ſubjects. Next to the king come his admini-

† Such a monarch has been projected; and as the ſcheme may poſſibly pleaſe the pigs, it will follow this extract.

ſtration

ſtration and the tribe of courtiers; men driven by a fatal neceſſity, to be corrupt, intriguing and venal; ſelected for their truſt by the moſt ignorant and ill-informed of their countrymen; made ſolely accountable for meaſures of which they cannot ſolely be the authors; threatened, if diſhoneſt, with the vengeance of an injured people; and, if honeſt, with the ſurer vengeance of their ſovereign's diſpleaſure. The reſt of the nation, the ſubjects at large.

Was ever a name ſo fraught with degradation and meanneſs as this of ſubjects? I am, it ſeem, by the very place of my birth, become a ſubject. Of what, or whom? Can an honeſt man conſider himſelf as the ſubject of any thing but the laws of juſtice? Can he acknowledge a ſuperior, or hold himſelf bound to ſubmit his judgment to the will of another, not leſs liable than himſelf to prejudice and error? Such is the idol that monarchy worſhips in lieu of the divinity of truth and the ſacred obligation of public good. It is of little conſequence whether we vow fidelity to the king and the nation, or to the nation and the king, ſo long as the king intrudes himſelf to tarniſh and undermine the true ſimplicity, the altar of virtue.

Are mere names beneath our notice, and will they produce no ſiniſter influence upon the mind? May we bend the knee before the ſhrine of vanity and folly without injury? Far otherwiſe. Mind had its beginning in ſenſation, and it depends upon words and ſymbols for the progreſs of its aſſociations. The true good man muſt not only have a heart reſolved, but a front erect. We cannot practiſe objection, hypocriſy and meanneſs, without becoming degraded in other men's eyes and in our own. We cannot "bow the head in the temple of Rimmon," without in ſome degree apoſtatiſing from the divinity of truth. He that calls a king a man, will perpetually hear from his own mouth the leſſon

leſſon that he is unfit for the truſt repoſed in him he that calls him by any ſublimer appellation, is haſtening faſt into the moſt palpable and dangerous errors.

But perhaps "mankind are ſo weak and imbecile, that it is in vain to expect from the change of their inſtitutions the improvement of their character." Who made them weak and imbecile? Previouſly to human inſtitutions they had certainly none of this defect. Man conſidered in himſelf is merely a being capable of impreſſion, a recipient of perceptions. What is there in this abſtract character that precludes him from advancement? We have a faint diſcovery in individuals at preſent of what our nature is capable: why ſhould individuals be fit for ſo much, and the ſpecies for nothing? Is there any thing in the ſtructure of the globe that forbids us to be virtuous? If not, if nearly all our impreſſions of right and wrong flow from our intercourſe with each other, why may not that intercourſe be ſuſceptible of modification and amendment? It is the moſt cowardly of all ſyſtems that would repreſent the diſcovery of truth as uſeleſs, and teach us that, when diſcovered, it is our wiſdom to leave the maſs of our ſpecies in error.

There is not in reality the ſmalleſt room for ſcepticiſm reſpecting the omnipotence of truth. Truth is the pebble in the lake; and however ſlowly in the preſent caſe the circles ſucceed each other, they will infallibly go on till they overſpread the ſurface. No order of mankind will for ever remain ignorant of the principles of juſtice, equality and public good. No ſooner will they underſtand them, than they will perceive the coincidence of virtue and public good with private intereſt: nor will any erroneous eſtabliſhment beable effectually to ſupport itſelf againſt general opinion. In this conteſt ſophiſtry will vaniſh, and miſchievous inſtitutions ſink quietly into neglect. Truth

will bring down all her forces, mankind will be her army, and oppreſſion, injuſtice, monarchy and vice will tumble into a common ruin.

Let us beware by an unjuſtifiable perverſion of terms of confounding the common underſtanding of mankind. A king is the well known and ſtanding appellation for an office, which, if there be any truth in the arguments of the preceding chapters, has been the bane and the grave of human virtue. Why endeavour to purify and exorciſe what is entitled only to execration? why not ſuffer the term to be as well underſtood and as cordially deteſted as the once honourable appellation of tyrant, afterwards was among the Greeks? Why not ſuffer it to reſt a perpetual monument of the folly, the cowardice and miſery of our ſpecies?

A RECEIPT TO MAKE A KING.

From Common ſenſe; or, the Engliſhman's journal, *for* May, 28, 1737.

(Suppoſed to be written by the late Henry Fielding Eſq.)

IF I were a Corſican, I ſhould certainly be a rebel; that is, I ſhould hazard my life and eſtate to recover my liberty; but if after all I muſt ſubmit to be a ſlave, I would be a ſlave to Baron Nieuhoff†, or even to a Ruſſian Bojar, rather than to my old taſk maſters of Genoa.

The Corſican chiefs, if they would be adviſed by me, ſhould form the plan of their future government, even while their affairs are low, and the event uncertain, leſt, hereafter, they ſuffer greater evils than ever yet they have felt, by inteſtine diviſions; and are prompted by a ſpirit of jealouſy or ambition to deſtroy one another, when they have no other enemies to conquer. Were I to

† Theodore Baron Nieuhoff, elected King of Corſica.

preſide

preſide in their council, and the direction of this important affair were to be left to my judgment, I would not make choice of any form of government which is now adminiſtered in the world: neither would I borrow my ſyſtem from Plato's republic, or Sir Thomas More's Utopia, which ſound well in theory, but can never be reduced to practice. In ſhort, I would preſerve the rank and dignity of my country, by reſtoring the ancient form of government, which was *kingly* or *monarchial*. A king I would have, and a king with a crown on his head, and a ſcepter in his hand; to whom ſhould be given the title of royal or imperial majeſty. But my king ſhould not be a tyrant. He ſhould be even incapable of committing any acts of violence, or oppreſſion. He ſhould be entirely free from pride, avarice, and ambition. He ſhould neither injure himſelf, or his ſubjects, through the heat and intemperance of youth, or the folly and dotage of old age. Love which has made one king a fool, and another mad, ſhould never perplex his head, or hurt his conſtitution. His manners ſhould be without blemiſh; and his greateſt enemies (if undeſervedly he muſt have enemies) ſhould not be able to impute to him any impurity of mind, any unfriendly diſpoſition, or unevenneſs of temper. In a word, I would have ſuch a king as Jupiter firſt gave to the frogs†; who, by the way poſſeſſed his empire by divine right, and therefore his ſubjects were juſtly puniſhed by his ſucceſſor for the inſults which they offered to his perſon and character. However, I would not have a plain unfaſhionable Log. My prince ſhould be made of the heart of oak, and wrought into the ſhape and figure of a man by the moſt ſkilful artiſts in Europe.

To ſpeak intelligibly, I would have an image or ſtatue as big as the life, well ſhaped, and finely

† See the fable of the frogs who petitioned Jupiter for a king.

painted; with a diadem on his head, a royal mantle on his ſhoulders, and a ſcepter in his right hand. He ſhould be placed under a rich canopy, and ſeated on a magnificent throne. A guard of an hundred halberdeers ſhould be appointed to attend him, not ſo much for the ſecurity of his perſon, as to ſerve for pomp and ſhew at the audience of ambaſſadors. This guard ſhould be the only ſtanding army in Corſica. For as there could be no uſe for ſoldiers, but to defend the country in caſe of an invaſion, ſo, in that caſe, every man ſhould be a ſoldier. There ſhould be an eſtabliſhed militia, in which all the male inhabitants, from eighteen to fifty years of age, capable of bearing arms, ſhould be inrolled, as is practiſed at this day among the Swiſs-Cantons. This militia ſhould be provided with good arms, and regularly exerciſed. The generals, colonels, and all inferior officers, ſhould be named by the ſenate, as well as all other officers military and civil; among the reſt I include all the great officers of the crown, *&c.* But then it ſhould not be lawful for any officer to exerciſe the employment conferred on him, till his nomination had been confirmed by the king, who ſhould always be allowed a negative voice.

In like manner, new laws ſhould be of no force till they had received his majeſty's approbation, which ſhould always be ſignified by his ſilence. But whenever he refuſed his aſſent, he muſt be obliged to pronounce the word VETO three times with an audible voice, ſo that it might be diſtinctly heard by all the people.

Having thus ſecured the liberties of the ſubject, I think it in the next place incumbent on me, as a Corſican legiſlator, to maintain the dignity of the crown. I would not indeed ordain it as an article of faith, that the king held the reins of his government by a divine indefeaſible right; but yet I would have

have his perſon ſacred and inviolable. His ſubjects of all degrees and orders ſhould approach him with the greateſt reverence. Thoſe who were introduced to him for a confirmation of their privileges and employments, ſhould be obliged to proſtrate themſelves, and kiſs the hem of his garment. No perſon ſhould preſume to ſit, or ſpit, or cough, or be covered in his preſence; unleſs it might hereafter be thought proper, as a reward for great merit and ſervices to create a claſs of *grandees*.†

Foreign miniſters, who are ſent to compliment the king on his acceſſion, muſt obſerve the ceremonial eſtabliſhed at the court of Turin, when the King of Sardinia was acknowledged in that quality. All proper laws ſhould be deviſed for his ſecurity. And therefore, if any one ſhould be ſo audacious as to ſteal away his majeſty, or to maim, or disfigure his perſon, or to rob him of his crown or ſceptre, or any part of his robes, the offender ſhould be guilty of treaſon, and be puniſhed with death.

If any perſon ſhould propoſe in writing, or converſation, to aboliſh the preſent form of government, by depoſing his wooden majeſty, and ſubſtituting in his ſtead a monarch of fleſh and blood, whether man, woman, or beaſt, the offender ſhould likewiſe be guilty of high-treaſon. Provided always, that the words be expreſs and ſufficiently proved, and that no free Corſican be vexed or puniſhed by *innuendos*, and forced conſtructions; or for any figurative, allegorical, or ambiguous ſpeeches. Provided likewiſe, that this law ſhall not extend to reſtrain the freedom of debate in the ſenate and council.

But now I deſire it may be underſtood, that in this new ſcheme of government, which I have invented for the good people of Corſica, I only re-

† A Spaniſh grandee keeps his hat on in the king's preſence. He is created by the words, be covered! without further ceremony.

quire the ſubſtance of the king's perſon to be of oak. I do not abſolutely inſiſt that he muſt al- ways retain a human form. Let it be varied accord- ing to the exigencies of the ſtate, or the humour of the people.

For the matter, I prefer the oak to all other tim- ber, on account of its duration; and becauſe tha tree, conſidered only as a ſimple vegetable, bear ſome analogy to a crown'd head: it having bee held ſacred in all countries and ages of the world The ancient Druids paid a greater veneration t the oak, than to the moſt illuſtrious of the ſons o Adam. And even among us Engliſhmen, in a ver inquiſitive and polite age, I mean about the mid dle of the laſt century, this tree obtained th title of *royal*.—The Greeks and Romans had f great a reverence for this tree, as to imagine, tha every oak was the habitation of a divinity: an there was an oaken grove, within one of the gate of Rome, where all the trees were worſhipped a ſo many nymphs and goddeſſes.

But the moſt renowned of all their ſpecies wer the Epirotick oaks, the illuſtrious natives of Dod na; who were not only endued with human ſpeec but were prophets and poets, the moſt exalte characters of mankind; and by which two of th greateſt princes in the world have been ſo eminen ly diſtinguiſhed.

If the compaſs of my paper would allow it, would add much more in honour of the oak. B what I have ſaid may ſuffice, to prevent the rid cule of political writers, and the objections an indignities, which they might otherwiſe offer my wooden king.

I am fully perſuaded, there is not a monar now living upon the earth, who would not thin himſelf very happy, and bleſſed above all his br thren, to be heart of oak; eſpecially if he t rned of fifty. And the bleſſing would be do bl

bled, if by this change he might be allowed to derive his pedigree from the houſe of Dodona. In truth, an oak of this family is capable of governing the greateſt kingdoms, even the vaſt empire of China and Japan. How would the people of thoſe countries admire his eminent qualities, and the faculties of his mind! And I am ſure they would not preſume to find fault with his perſon and family, who was deſcended from as ancient a ſtock, and formed of as good ſtuff as their gods. However, I ingenuouſly confeſs, that the oaks of this race are not for my purpoſe, and muſt therefore be excluded from my ſcheme of government. Prophets of all complections, nations, and religions, whether great or ſmall, whether falſe or true, when they are once made kings, will claim an abſolute independent ſovereignty. The hiſtory of all ages, and the actions of all the royal prophets, from King David down to King Mahomet, ſufficiently verify my aſſertion. For that reaſon I recommend the oaks of Dodona to the government of the eaſt, where every king and every vice-king is a tyrant.

As for the monarchs of Corſica, according to my eſtabliſhment, they muſt not have the uſe of ſpeech, and then they will have no uſe for power. Wherefore I adviſe thoſe iſlanders to content themſelves with kings that are the growth of their own woods, if they have any woods left. If not, they may import a good ſtout king of any ſize, well ſhaped and poliſhed, and faſhionably dreſſed, from any great city on the continent †. I muſt ſubmit to the conſideration of the ſenate, whether they will be at the charge of a queen. For as ſhe can contribute nothing to the ſucceſſion, the expence of the ſculpture, her royal veſtments, ſervants and

† The principal manufactories of this ſort are thought to be the Hague in Holland, and a little inſignificant place in ſome part of Germany, the name of which I cannot immediately recollect, but believe it begins with an H.

officers

officers will be an unneceſſary incumbrance on the civil liſt; beſides I can prove from ancient hiſtory, that a wooden queen, hath ſometimes done as much miſchief as a wooden horſe, and overturned mighty kingdoms.

I would certainly provide by the ſtrongeſt laws, that no prieſt ſhould have a vote in the ſenate or council, nor any employment about the perſon of his Corſican majeſty. I ſhould be under dreadful apprehenſions, leſt thoſe teeming heads exalt my king into a god, and then tax the people to furniſh proviſions for his table. *Seeſt thou not how he eateth and drinketh, and thinkeſt thou not that he is a god?* In which caſe, the theocracy of the wooden god would prove the worſt kind of tyranny. For this little iſland would ſoon be devoured to manifeſt the power of the governor, and ſupport the luxury of his miniſters; who are better craftſmen than to be diſcovered, like thoſe idiot prieſts of Bel, by a trap door, and a ſack of aſhes ſtrewed upon the pavement.

Whilſt I am writing this, I am informed by the Holland mail, that King Theodore has abdicated the crown of Corſica, and is now impriſoned for debt at Amſterdam†, Though I am as truly concerned for the misfortune of this enterpriſing monarch, as any of his loving ſubjects, yet I muſt own, it leſſens my grief to conſider, that this ſudden revolution will make way for my propoſal, and facilitate the acceſſion of my wooden king. For which reaſon, I will direct theſe ſhort hints to be tranſlated into Italian, for the uſe of the Corſican chiefs, and the people now in arms under their command.

How ſhall I rejoice to be the inſtrument of giv-

† He was long confined on the ſame account, in the King's-Bench priſon! and died ſoon after his diſcharge, under the inſolvent debtors act, having given up his kingdom for the benefit of his creditors.

ing

ing them a king, who, to ſpeak without a figure, can do no wrong! a ſucceſſion of ſuch princes would not be leſs glorious for themſelves, than beneficial to their country. They would be univerſally eſteemed during their reigns, and their memories ſweet and precious. Happy had it been for the world, if the long catalogue of Roman emperors (three or four only excepted) had been of the wooden ſpecies!

Reaſon, which is the diſtinguiſhing excellence of human nature, can only prove a bleſſing to thoſe whether princes or private perſons, who are men of honour and virtue.

ON KINGS,

From a Lampoon entitled the Restoration;

BY WILMOT EARL OF ROCHESTER,

For the printing of which he was baniſhed.

If of all christian blood the guilt,
Cries loud of vengeance unto Heav'n
That ſea by treach'rous Lewis ſpilt,
Can never be by God forgiven:
Worſe ſcourge unto his ſubjects, Lord!
Than peſt'lence, famine, fire, or ſword.

The falſe rapacious wolf of France,
The ſcourge of Europe, and its curſe,
Who at his ſubjects' cry would dance,
And study how to make them worſe.
To ſay ſuch kings, Lord, rule by thee,
Were most prodigious blaſphemy.

Such know no laws but their own luſt,
Their ſubjects ſubſtance, and their blood;
They count them tribute *due* and *juſt*,
Still ſpent and ſpilt for ſubjects' good.

If

If Such kings are by God appointed,
The Devil may be the Lord's anointed.

Such kings, curs'd be their power and name,
Let all the world henceforth abhor 'em,
Monsters which knaves ſacred proclaim,
And then like ſlaves, fall down before 'em.
What can there be in kings divine?
The most are wolves, goats, ſheep, or ſwine.

Then farewell ſacred majesty.
Let's pull all brutiſh tyrants down,
Where men are born, and still live *free*,
There *every* head doth wear a crown.
Mankind like miſerable frogs,
Prove wretched, *king'd* by storks and logs.

THE POET INDIGNANT WISHES TO LEAVE HIS DEGENERATE COUNTRY.

[*From Dodſley's Poems.*]

SINCE worth he cries, in theſe degenerate days
Wants ev'n the cheap reward of empty praiſe;
In thoſe curs'd walls, devote to vice and gain,
Since unrewarded ſcience toils in vain;
Since hope but ſooths to double my diſtreſs,
And every moment leaves my little leſs;
While yet my ſteady ſteps no ſtaff ſuſtains,
And life ſtill vig'rous revels in my veins;
Grant me kind Heaven, to find ſome happier place,
Where honeſty and ſenſe are no diſgrace.

Here let thoſe reign, whom penſions can incite
To vote a patriot black, a courtier white;
Explain their country's dear-bought rights away,
And plead for pirates in the face of day;
With ſlaviſh tenets taint our poiſon'd youth,
And lend a lie the confidence of truth.

Let

Let ſuch raiſe palaces and manors buy,
Collect a tax, or farm a lottery,
With warbling eunuchs fill a licens'd ſtage,
And lull to ſervitude a thoughtleſs age.
Heroes, proceed! what bounds your pride ſhall hold?
What check reſtrain your thirſt of pow'r and gold?
Behold rebellious virtue quite o'erthrown,
Behold our fame, our wealth, our lives your own.
To ſuch, a groaning nation's ſpoils are giv'n,
When public crimes inflame the wrath of Heav'n,
Has Heaven reſerv'd, in pity to the poor,
No pathleſs waſte or undiſcover'd ſhore?
No ſecret iſland in the boundleſs main?
No peaceful deſart yet unclaim'd by SPAIN?
Quick, let us riſe, the happy ſeats explore,
And bear oppreſſion's inſolence no more. †
Scarce can our fields, ſuch crowds at Tyburn die,
With hemp the gallows and the Fleet ſupply.
Propoſe your ſchemes, ye ſenatorian band,
Whoſe ways and means ſupport the ſinking land;
Leſt ropes be wanting in the tempting ſpring,
To rig another convoy for the k——g.

[*The two laſt lines would now more fitly run thus*]

Leſt ſails be wanting patriots to convey,
From venal Britain's coaſts to barren Botany-Bay.
A ſingle jail, in Alfred's golden reign,
Could half the nation's criminals contain;
Fair juſtice then, without conſtraint ador'd,
Held high the ſteady ſcale, but deep'd the ſword;
No ſpies were paid, no ſpecial juries known,
Bleſt age! but ah! how different from our own!

† Your Eyes upliſt SPENSONIA's in your view!
No TYRANTS there will rob you of your Due:
Lo! Men to free from ev'ry Source of Wrong,
Curs'd LANDLORDS are expell'd, nor ſuffer'd them among.
POOR MAN's ADVOCATE.

THE

THE RIGHTS OF GOD.

An early production of

RICHARD LEE,

Author of a Volume of Poems lately Published.

THE *Lord alone ſhall be exalted.* ISAIAH
Man over men, he made not LORD;
Such title to himſelf reſerving,
Human left from human free. MILTON.

Sole KING *of* NATIONS! *riſe, aſſert thy ſway,*
Thou *jealous* GOD! thy potent arm diſplay,
Tumble the *blood-built* thrones of *deſpots* down,
Let duſt and darkneſs be the tyrants crown!

May bended knees ſurround thy awful throne,
And praiſe and worſhip flow to *thee alone*;
"*Moſt high and mighty*" is the NAME DIVINE,
And "*ſacred majeſty*" *alone is thine.*

Let impious mortals know that *thou* art GOD,
And they but worms; *mere upſtarts from the clod!*
May PEACE and FREEDOM viſit earth again,
The HATE of *monarchs* but the BLISS of MEN.

EQUAL GOVERNMENTS WILL TEND TO MAKE MEN BETTER.

From Barlow's Advice to the privileged Orders.

AS an apology for the exiſting deſpotiſms, it is ſaid, That all men are by nature tyrants, and will exerciſe their tyrannies whenever they find opportunity. Allowing this aſſertion to be true, it is ſurely cited by the wrong party. It is an apology for equal, and not for unequal governments: and the weapon belongs to thoſe who contend for the republican principle. If government be founded on the vices of mankind, its buſineſs is to reſtrain thoſe vices in all, rather than

than to foſter them in a few. The diſpoſition to tyrannize is effectually reſtrained under the exerciſe of the Equality of Rights; while it is not only rewarded in the few, but invigorated in the many, under all other forms of the ſocial connexion. But it is almoſt impoſſible to decide, among moral propenſities, which of them belong to Nature, and which are the offspring of Habit; how many of our vices are chargeable on the permanent qualities of man, and how many reſult from the mutable energies of ſtate.

If it be in the power of a bad government to render men worſe than nature has made them, why ſhould we ſay it is not in the power of a good one to render them better? And if the latter be capable of producing this effect in any perceivable degree, where ſhall we limit the progreſs of human wiſdom and the force of its inſtitutions, in ameliorating not only the ſocial condition, but the controlling principles of man?

He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear! REV.

Of kings and courtiers how the herd complain!
Nor blame their own inord'nate love of gain.
None think that while dire Landlords they allow,
To kings and knaves they'll ſtill be doom'd to bow.
None think that each by fav'ring the deceit,
Himſelf's a fooliſh party to the cheat.
Few can be Landlords; and theſe very few,
Muſt, to ſucceed, their brethren all undo.
Yet each low wretch for lordſhip fierce does burn,
And longs to act the tyrant in his turn!
Nor longs alone, but hopes *before he dies*,
To have his rents, and live on tears and ſighs!

A FURTHER ACCOUNT OF SPENSONIA.

[*Continued from page 72, Vol. II.*]

THE continent not being far diſtant from the Iſland of Spenſonia, produced ſeveral interviews between the reſpective inhabitants, and of

courſe frequent traffickings and dealings, which, on the part of the Spenſonians, were conducted with the utmoſt ſimplicity and good faith. This uprightneſs gained much on the affections of the Indians, and naturally produced a yet nearer communication. Contrary to expectation, they here ſaw a people, much ſuperior in the comforts of life, as independent as themſelves; and though Chriſtians, without thoſe *odious tyrants* to mankind, LANDLORDS. "How," ſaid an Indian to a Spenſonian, "How is it that you have no Landlords? We never heard that men could be civilized, or be Chriſtians, without giving up their common right to the earth, and its natural produce to tyrants, called Landlords. Among ſuch people, according to univerſal report, the land is claimed by a few individuals, who diſpoſe of it at pleaſure, and parcel it out to others for tribute or rent. Many colonies of Chriſtians have eſtabliſhed themſelves in various parts of America, and carry on here, as in their original country, the iniquitous traffick in the ſoil. They expel, or exterminate us, the natives, becauſe we will not work, or pay rent to them, for living in our own country; neither have theſe Europeans the common honeſty to ſhare equally, among themſelves, their unrighteous plunder; but levy rents of each other here, as they do at home. Yes, their religion it ſeems will not allow of equality of rights. Their God, they tell us, has ordained that there ſhall be many *ſorts and conditions of men*, and that ſome few ſhall have the lordſhip and diſpoſal of the earth, whilſt the far greater part muſt be reduced to ſupplicate to become their tributaries and vaſſals. This has always made us hate your God and your religion. Juſtice being impartiality, partiality muſt be injuſtice; and that God, who is ſo partial, cannot be juſt; and not being juſt, cannot be loved. We cannot love injuſtice, nor the promoters of injuſtice. Neither can we, free-born Indians, ſubmit to pay homage or rent to any man for

for leave to dwell on the earth, though he ſhould ſay that God would have it ſo. But you ſay, *you* are Chriſtians, and that you, *neverthelefs*, have *no* Landlords; but have an equitable way of enjoying the common benefits of this iſland which you inhabit, and yet preſerve to each man his independence!—This is very amazing to me!"

The curioſity of this Indian was ſatisfied; he was made to comprehend the brotherly ſyſtem, and that the God of the Chriſtians was belied by deſigning prieſts, colleagued with overbearing knaves; and that he did not approve, but condemned and puniſhed injuſtice, uſurpation, and oppreſſion.

The enraptured Indian ſighed for the domeſtic happineſs of civilized life, combined with his native independence. He was adopted a citizen, and was happy. Other Indians heard, ſaw, and followed the example. The iſland now became very populous and highly cultivated, and many villages encreaſed to large towns, adorned with public edifices, and other marks of opulence and refinement. Trade flouriſhed, ſhips were built, and commerce extended to diſtant ſhores its reciprocal bleſſings.

In this ſtate of proſperity (ſays the author of this account) did I find this riſing colony, when by accident, ſome years ago, our ſhip was driven upon this happy iſland.

I, like the aforeſaid Indian, was aſtoniſhed when I underſtood their ſyſtem of government, and manner of holding landed property. For inſtead of anarchy, idleneſs, poverty, and meanneſs, the natural conſequences, as I narrowly thought, of a ridiculous levelling ſcheme, I ſaw nothing but order, induſtry, wealth, and magnificence. So being anxious to know the utmoſt of this new-faſhioned commonwealth, I took occaſion to have my doubts reſolved by a communicative Spenſonian as follows:

Author. *And ſo none, notwithſtanding the ſplendid appearance the country makes, and the extenſive manner*

in which trade is carried on, have eſtates, nor can purchaſe any?

Spenſonian. No, nor is it likely ever will; nor does the happineſs of human life, or buſineſs, require any ſuch nefarious traffick.

Auth. *Would it not tend to make the people more induſtrious if they could lay out their riches in poſſeſſions?*

Spen. If they were more induſtrious in order to buy land, other people, being reduced to be their tenants, would, through poverty and oppreſſion, be deprived of the means of induſtry; and by deſpair, of the incitement to it. Being poſſeſſed of landed property, men would ceaſe to be otherwiſe induſtrious than in watching their tenants, in order to raiſe their rents, and infringe their liberties. Their poſterity alſo, would become equally uſeleſs, except in the ſame laudable buſineſs of oppreſſion. The ſame pretence, as to objects of induſtry, might extend to religion, and the perſons of men. Why ſhould traffic be denied to monied men in any thing capable of being an object of commerce!! But why deſpair of induſtry? You ſee no want of it among us: No, nor yet among the Jews, though neither they nor we can buy land; but, on the contrary, you ſee a general induſtry, not one idle. Riches, unſupported by an eſtate, would ſoon take wings, if dot prevented by induſtry. But in your country, Europe, (for I know your cuſtoms, we came originally from England,) what great incitement, pray, can it be to induſtry, to give the cream of one's endeavours, unthanked to the Landlord? For what Landlord was ever yet thankful for his rents? They think the tenants rather owe thanks to them for permiſſion to live on their earth forſooth!

'' Wi' glooman brow the Laird ſeeks in his rent,
' It's not to gie;
' His honour maunna want, he poinds your gear;
' Syne driven frae houſe and hald, where will ye
" ſteer?" ALLAN RAMSAY.

Curſe

Curſe them: I never can think of them but with deteſtation. I can compare them and their caſtles to nothing but the giants and their caſtles in romances. Thoſe giants were ſaid to be a terror and deſtruction to all the people around, ſo in reality are the dukes, lords, and barons of the preſent day. Therefore, the ſtories of enormous and tyrannical giants, dwelling in ſtrong caſtles, which have been thought fabulous, may reaſonably be looked upon as diſguiſed truths, and to have been invented as juſt ſatires upon great lords. For, if thoſe fabulous monſters were ſaid to eat the people and their children, your real monſters, of Landlords, really eat their meat, and the ſavour out of every enjoyment; reducing them to ſuch miſery, that eating their bodies, as the giants did, would be much more beneficent. They toil them to death in their endleſs drudgery, haraſs and butcher them in their villainous wars, and drag them from every ſocial connection. Theſe are the monſters, or giants, that the world want to be rid of. The extirpation of theſe ſhould employ the philanthropic giant-killers, the deliverers of mankind.

Auth. *But notwithſtanding all your heat againſt thoſe Landlords, thoſe monſters as you call them, I ſhould like to know why you think they will never get crept in among you, as they have in all other civilized nations?*

Spen. Why, you muſt know, the intereſt of every individual is ſo intimately and palpably connected with our preſent ſyſtem, that the leaſt innovation would immediately be felt, and, of courſe, oppoſed. People are generally very much attached to their landed property, and ſocieties in particular, are very tenacious of ſuch, eſpecially when they, as we do, find daily the benefit thereof. Then can we ſuppoſe any would be ſo hardy as attempt to touch a whole nation in ſo ſenſible a part?

Auth. *But bribery, my friend, bribery; that is the invincible Leviathan that overturns the rights of man-*

kind. That may get among you, and numbers may be hired to ſell the interests of the public, both preſent and future, for a little preſent gain, and be ready either to vote or fight againſt them.

Spen. Well, I will let you ſee that though you were to bribe the whole nation you could do nothing by voting, and that you muſt have a very large majority, before you can have any chance by fighting. You muſt underſtand we never vote but by ballot, or in a ſecret manner, either in parochial or parliamentary buſineſs. Now ſuppoſe you would bribe the whole of the voters in any affair, and I were one of them, I would reaſon thus with myſelf: If I vote as I am bribed to do, I muſt do wrong to the public, whoſe intereſt includes alſo my own, and perhaps the intereſt likewiſe of poſterity. If there be but one vote againſt my briber, he may ſay it is mine; and if I deny it, ſo may he that gave this vote, and has as good a chance to be believed, there being no witneſſes; whereby I will have the mortification to have wronged my country and conſcience, without being able to clear myſelf in your ſight. So, in conſequence of this reaſoning, I would vote againſt you; and ſo would every one elſe from the ſame conſideration. Let us ſee how this caſe will ſtand then? Why you would chide me privately (for you durſt not do it publicly) for not voting for you, though hired. I would ſay, how do you know that? Becauſe, ſay you, I have not one vote, *(for remember, if you had but one vote, I would lay claim to it,)* and therefore not yours. What, not one vote! I would exclaim. No, not one; ſay you. Well then, I would anſwer, I have the comfort to think I am no worſe than others: This will teach you to come hither again to buy votes. Beſides, if I had voted for you, others might have claimed, with you, the merit of the deed, while I would have had the whole of the guilt; and, at beſt, an equal ſhare of the

the ſuſpicion. So there is an end to your hurting us by voting.

Auth. *I am now convinced, that ſo long as you vote by ballot, or ſecretly, there does not appear a poſſibility of hurting you in that quarter. But is it not beneath freemen to vote thus clandeſtinely, as if afraid to act honeſtly in the face of the world? Moreover, you loſe all the praiſe of your good deeds, which is a general incitement to worthy actions.*

Spen. In your country they vote in the open manner you commend. What is the conſequence? Why the Miniſtry tells you it is neceſſary to have a majority on their ſide for the diſpatch of buſineſs, which amounts to the ſame thing as pleading for no parliament at all. A majority therefore is procured, in a very honourable way no doubt. The minority not being bought (for a majority is ſufficient) take every opportunity to ſhew their importance, by oppoſing all buſineſs indiſcriminately, whether right or wrong. Indeed they have often but too much reaſon to oppoſe, yet let their harangues be ever ſo violent, they can never make the majority underſtand in any other way than the Miniſter would have them; for they are too faſt aſleep in the lap of corruption, to regard either their arguments or the praiſes of their country. Thus you ſee the weak influence of fame, which you build ſo much on, even among ſenators; what ſtrength muſt it then have among the poor freeholders and burghers, after ſo glorious an example!

This general corruption, and conflict of intereſts, furniſh endleſs materials for newſpapers, pamphlets, and ſtate coblers. Thouſands of abortive ſchemes are daily propoſed for redreſſing grievances and mending the conſtitution; whereas, the ſhoes were ſo ill-made at firſt, are ſo worn, rotten, and patched already, that they are not worth further trouble or expence, but ought to be thrown to the

the dunghill; and a new pair ſhould be made neat, tight, and eaſy, as for the foot of one that loves freedom and eaſe. Then would your controverſies about this, and the other way of cobling, that continually agitate you, be done away; and you would walk along the rugged and dirty path of life eaſy and dry-ſhod.

And now you ſhall witneſs with your own eyes, that force is likely to ſucceed as ill againſt us as ſecret corruption. Therefore you muſt go with me to-morrow, a few miles off, it being a general review day, when the inhabitants of ſeveral pariſhes together are to go through their military exerciſe, under the eye of a general, provided by the ſtate. Every pariſh, or ward of a pariſh, exerciſe themſelves at their own convenience; but two or three times a year, ſeveral pariſhes are aſſembled together, as I ſaid, to accuſtom themſelves to act in large bodies, as you will ſee to-morrow.

Accordingly next morning we were rouſed early by the drums all over the country beating to arms. No man lagged behind that was able to march; but my friend, luckily for me, happened to be lame, yet not ſo as to prevent his hobbling there to be a ſpectator. I was a ſtranger, and therefore had nothing to do with them; and ſo went with my friend alſo to look on. The morning was exceeding fine, the military ground was ſpacious, and kept always in paſturage for that purpoſe. The pariſhes, in different liveries, came marching in from every direction, with artillery, banners, and muſic. Thoſe who had good horſes, were horſemen; and formed into troops according to the colour of their horſes. The very boys too were furniſhed with ſmall arms, and claſſed according to their ſizes. It was delightful to behold ſo many thouſand citizen ſoldiers in arms only of defence; an army of "men, who "their duties know, and know their rights; and, "knowing, dare maintain." In ſhort, they made

a gallant

a gallant appearance, and every one was adorned with what little ornament his rank and uniform admitted of; as medals received for improvements, public ſervices, &c. Every eye ſparkled with delight, and every countenance was expreſſive of happineſs, for this is their moſt agreeable ſport Emulative obedience to command, and dexterity of action, was every where conſpicuous. What contributed much to this, was, that nothing but eminent merit can advance any to be officers, who muſt paſs through every ſtation to the higheſt, if their merit can carry them ſo far. They went through their ſeveral manœuvres like veterans, but the boys in particular made a pleaſing ſight. No play whatever gives them ſuch delight as this military exerciſe, which they apply to with ſuch diligence, that before they leave ſchool, or are fit for other employments, they are as complete therein as the oldeſt. For this purpoſe all due encouragement is given them; a particular inſtance of which appeared at this time: They made a mock fight with the men and drove them off the ground, which cloſed the review. Every party then with colours flying as they came, marched to their reſpective homes, to ſpend the remainder of the day in feſtivity and joy.

The merry bells now ſounded from every ſteeple. The glad females, after feaſting their manly ſpouſes and paramours, prepared for the dance; and thro' the evening, revelled in pleaſures known to love and innocence alone. Among other ſports, there were ſhooting matches and cudgel playing, which are favourite diverſions, and encouraged, on ſuch days as this, by medals from the pariſhes. The victors are very proud of theſe medals, and, as obſerved before, wear them on extraordinary occaſions and field days.

I can never enough admire the beauty of the country. It has more the air of a garden, or rather

ther a paradiſe than a general country ſcene; and indeed it is only a continuation of gardens and orchards. For beſides the infinite number of real gardens, the very fields, meadows and paſtures, are plentifully ſtrewed with fruit trees, and the corn is cultivated in rows, and as carefully as garden herbs. The houſes and every thing about them are ſo amiably neat, and ſo indicative of domeſtic happineſs, ſo far diſtant from the inflated pomp and ghaſtly ſolemnity of the palaces of the great, and the confined, miſerable depreſſion of the hovels of the wretched, that they ſeem the habitations of rational beings; of beings worthy the approbation of the Deity, becauſe, though as he deſigned them they be lords of all his works, *they preſume not be Lords of each other.*

On expreſſing my ſurprize at ſo much private felicity and public convenience, my friend anſwered, "The pariſhes build and repair houſes, make roads, plant hedges and trees, and in a word do all the buſineſs of a Landlord. And you have ſeen what ſort of Landlords they are. I ſuppoſe you do not meet with much to repair or improve. And it is no wonder, for a pariſh has many heads to contrive what ought to be done. Inſtead of debating about mending the ſtate, as with you, (for ours needs no mending) we employ our ingenuity nearer home, and the reſult of our debates are in every pariſh, how we ſhall work ſuch a mine, make ſuch a river navigable, drain ſuch a fen, or improve ſuch a waſte. Theſe things we are all immediately intereſted in, and have each a vote in executing; and thus we are not mere ſpectators in the world, but as all men ought to be, actors, and that only for our own benefit."

The next day following we commenced again our political converſation, as follows:

Spen. Now our whole country is trained and peopled as you have ſeen, I therefore ſuppoſe you have

have dropt all hopes of fighting us out of our Liberties, and if there were a poſſibility of voting them away, we would not nevertheleſs part with them. Nay, we will not ſuffer any law in the leaſt impolitic, to give us uneaſineſs long; for we are too knowing and too powerful to be impoſed upon or brow-beat; which makes our Parliament very careful how they make laws.

Auth. *I must indeed own that you have no great reaſon to be afraid of any encroachment on your conſtitution, whilst you continue your two guardian angels; I mean* VOTING BY BALLOT, *and* THE UNIVERSAL USE OF ARMS. *But I beg the ſame liberty to make objections that my countrymen will be apt to take when I inform them of your uncommon cuſtoms. that I may be the more enabled to anſwer them. Do not people repine that the place they occupy is not their own: that they muſt pay rent; that they cannot do with it what they pleaſe; and that they cannot enfeoff their poſterity with the improvements they may make?*

Spen. So you think that the unreaſoning deſires of wayward individuals ſhould be complied with, to the detriment of a whole people? Private property in land, is either juſt, according to the law of nature, or it is not. That it is not, is evident from the unnatural and oppreſſive conſequences flowing from it. If all tyranny, and abuſes in government, flow only from that monopolizing ſyſtem, it muſt, of courſe, be the fountain head of tyranny; ſearch hiſtory, and ſee, that the government of every country ever was, and is, in the proprietors of land. If then the people wiſh to have the government in their own hands, they muſt begin firſt, by taking the land into their own hands.

Who is the Lord Paramount of the univerſe? Is he not God? He then, and he alone. or thoſe whom he deputes, muſt have the rents. Now the ſcripture ſays, that he has given the earth to the children

ch ildren of men; given it to mankind in common Then mankind in their reſpective diſtricts are his ſubſtitutes and repreſentatives, and have a right to receive, and diſpoſe of the revenues ariſing from the Domains, which he in his providence permits them ſeverally to poſſeſs. Some will ſay, that though God gave the earth to the chidren of men, in common, they may have private poſſeſſions. I anſwer, yes; if they live far, I mean *very far*, aſunder. But in no populous country, ſince the beginning of the world, was private property in land enjoyed, but to the detriment of multitudes of the ſame community: Suppoſe a populous country were divided equally among the inhabitants, as was the land of Canaan among the Iſraelites, how long would their ſhares continue equal? In a few years ſome men's families would increaſe and others decreaſe, which would ſoon produce inequality of eſtates, even though neither the right of primogeniture nor alienation of property were allowed. Thoſe who became heirs to thoſe decreaſed families, would become richer; and thoſe who had but a ſmall ſhare among many brethren, of their paternal inheritance would become poorer; and even a periodical jubilee would not prevent injuſtice and inequality. But, by ſharing the rents, man's equal rights and dignity is preſerved, in every generation, and in every ſtate of population. If God be juſt he muſt approve of ſo juſt and impartial a ſyſtem. We preſume that he is ſo, and that he is not diſpleaſed at his revenues, being diſpoſed of ſo much to the happineſs of mankind.

We then admit but of ONE LORD, as we do of ONE GOD; and in his name our rents are collected and diſpoſed of as we believe, according to his will and pleaſure. We do not murmer, as you ſuppoſe, at paying rent: How ſhould we, when we conſider for whoſe uſe it is? Does not the rent paid here, ſerve inſtead of taxes and rates of every deſcription?

deſcription and is it not wholly at our own diſpoſal? And when the public eſtabliſhments are provided for, is not the remainder divided equally among us? If when premiſes become vacant by death, or otherwiſe, they be let to the beſt bidder; is not that the faireſt way? It ſhews no partiality and prevents colluſion to the prejudice of the public.

And do you think that the people, while a man lives and pays his rent, will be ſo ungenerous as turn him out of his houſe or farm? No—To prevent families indeed, from looking on their tenements as hereditary, the public may think it prudent, at the deceaſe of a man, or his widow, to take again their property into their own hands, and diſpoſe of it again to the beſt bidder. And what juſt reaſons will the ſons have to complain? Are they not part of that public, whoſe intereſt every man ought to promote and be jealous of for his own ſake? But to prevent all colour of injuſtice, on account of improvements, medals and premiums are always beſtowed on thoſe, while they live, who remarkably improve the public property. Your European landlords give no ſuch rewards nor ſhew ſuch favour, on account of improvements, that you need to ſurmiſe ſo many idle grievances under a ſyſtem of purity ſufficient for the heavens.

I could not, in my heart, teaze my friend any further, with my frivolous objections; for I was fully convinced that, if ever there be a millennium or heaven upon earth, it can only exiſt under the *benign* SYSTEM of SPENSONIA.

The wiſe and beneficient regulations and laws eminating from this ſyſtem of ſimplicity are beyond conception, beautiful and conducive of public happineſs. Many inſtances might be given, which, other ſocieties, not built on the public good, can

never adopt. For example: If any man poſſeſs an invention, or ſecret, in medicine, or other ſcience, or art, of importance to mankind, the ſtate does not firſt tax the poſſeſſor by ſelling him a patent, and then load his manufactures with ſtamps and duties, thereby counteracting as much as poſſible, the kind intentions of the deity, in bleſſing his creatures with ſuch an invention. No: the parliament is *obleged* to purchaſe the ſecret, and publiſh it. Remember, I ſay, *obliged*; for as it is only for purpoſes evidently uſeful, that their government dare diſpoſe of the public money, at all, ſo neither dare they be ſparing, when public utility demands it. Thus no quacks or impoſters, under pretence of ſecrets, are ſuffered to impoſe on mankind, to ruin their healths, or pick their pockets. Neither does any complain, that his inventions, or his labours have been unrewarded, through all the *happy regions of* SPENSONIA.

YE SHEEPISH MULTITUDE!
TAKE CARE OF YOUR NOSES!

Though robb'd of Wealth and Freedom both,
Poor Johnny Bull takes ſweet repoſe;
At laſt he'll ſurely ope his eyes,
When hireling knaves *cut off his noſe!*

EXTRACT of a letter from Liverpool, dated April, 15th, 1794, and publiſhed in the Morning Poſt of April, 21.

A moſt atrocious act has been committed here by an *Iriſhman*, whoſe conduct, we are ſorry to ſay, has been approved by ſome monſters in this town

to

to ſhew their attachment, as they ſay, to the king and conſtitution.

Laſt night this wretch, in company with others, gave *the* KING, which he inſiſted ſhould be drank by the company, one of whom refuſed, by declaring that no boiſterous fellow ſhould dictate a toaſt to him, though he declared that no man had a greater veneration for the ſovereign than himſelf. The Iriſhman ſwore, if he did not drink the toaſt, that he would CUT OFF HIS NOSE. The other refuſing, the villain actually carried his threat into execution.

The parties were immediately taken before a magiſtrate, who diſmiſſed BOTH, with a ſevere reprimand TO THE MAN who was thus mal-treated FOR NOT DRINKING THE TOAST.

It will be hardly credited, that our *humane* and *worthy* loyaliſts who ſo much deteſt the jacobines for their *ſanguinary* conduct, actually made a ſubſcription, for the Iriſhman, of ſeven guineas, who ſet off from this town, TO CUT OFF THE NOSES OF THE LONDON REFORMERS!!!

Had ſuch a tranſaction happened in Paris, and the guilty party ſuffered to eſcape with impunity, how your St. Stephen's Chapel would echo with the *howlings* of the pious EDMUND, the lamentations of Mr. WINDHAM, and the piping of that ſublime ſenator, Mr. Powis.

ON THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

[*From Dodſley's Poems.*]

YET philoſophic love of eaſe
I ſuffer not to prove diſeaſe,
But riſe up in the virtuous cauſe
Of a free preſs, and equal laws.
The preſs reſtrain'd! nefandous thought!
In vain our ſires have nobly fought;

While free from force the preſs remains,
Virtue and freedom cheer our plains,
And learning largeſſes beſtows,
And keeps uncenſur'd open houſe.
We to the nation's public mart
Our works of wit, and ſchemes of art,
And philoſophic goods this way,
Like water-carriage, cheap convey.
This tree which knowledge ſo affords,
Inquiſitors with flaming ſwords,
From lay-approach with zeal defend,
Leſt their own paradiſe ſhould end.
The preſs from her fecundous womb
Brought forth the arts of Greece and Rome;
Her offspring ſkill'd in logic war,
Truth's banner wav'd in open air;
The monſter ſuperſtition fled,
And hid in ſhades its gorgon head;
And lawleſs power, the long-kept field,
By reaſon quell'd was forc'd to yield.
This nurſe of arts, and freedom's fence
To chain, is treaſon againſt ſenſe.
And, liberty, thy thouſand tongues
None ſilence, who deſign no wrongs:
For thoſe, who uſe the gag's reſtraint,
Firſt rob, before they ſtop complaint.

ON THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN HANOVER.

THOUGH we in England do not reliſh the interference of government in our ſtudies, yet it would be highly indecent in us to trouble our heads with what is a-doing in Scotland, or Hanover. For ſurely our moſt gracious ſovereign and his patriotic counſellors know better what his ſubjects

jects in every country ought to read and think than they themſelves!

Read then with reſpectful ſilence, the auguſt, proceedings of his majeſty's government in Hanover reſpecting the Liberty of the Preſs.

Jena Journal: Hanover Jan. 18. 1794.

"The deſtructive poiſon of impious infidelity, irregulation, and all licentiouſneſs," to uſe the well-known expreſſions of the Augſburg *vacariat*, has been of late powerfully ſpread through our country, probably by means of circulating libraries, book-clubs, reading ſocieties, and clubs for periodical publications.

To remedy this evil, ſeveral propoſals have been made to the government by patriotic men,† of which the three principal are, firſt, Bookſellers ſhall be obliged to give a complete account of every book, before they expoſe it to ſale: or ſecondly, The managers of reading ſocieties, ſhall be made anſwerable for all books and periodical papers they permit to be circulated: or thirdly, At leaſt a catalogue of the books belonging to reading ſocieties, ſhall be ſent in from time to time.

The laſt was immediately reſolved, and hereupon the following ROYAL ordinance, reſpecting ſocieties and circulating libraries, as they are called, was diſperſed through the whole electorate!!!

"George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Duke of Brunſwick Lunenburg, Arch Treaſurer, and Elector of the holy Roman empire, &c.

"The continual increaſe of reading ſocieties

† Probably the members of an aſſociation lately formed at Hanover under the title of a "MILITARY Aſſociation againſt thoſe who attempt to ENLIGHTEN AND SEDUCE the people of Germany."

Query, Is it likely we ſhall have any ſuch MILITARY ASSOCIATIONS in England, to prevent us from being ENLIGHTENED AND SEDUCED?

and circulating libraries, as they are called, renders it neceſſary, that ſuch eſtabliſhments ſhould be ſubject to a ſtricter police. We find ourſelves on this account moved to eſtabliſh and ordain as follows:

"All Antiquarians, and others, who keep libraries for reading or letting out books for hire, ſhall, immediately after publication of this ordinance, deliver to the police office of the place where they reſide a complete catalogue of all and every of the books and pamphlets, that they at any time purchaſe, before they lend them. Whoever refuſes this, or lends a book or pamphlet not mentioned in the catalogue, ſhall pay, for the firſt offence, a fine of ten rix-dollars, and for the ſecond, a double fine, and be prohibited from lending books any more; half the fine to go to the informer.

"Second. All managers of reading ſocieties ſhall likewiſe be obliged to deliver to the police-office, of the place where they reſide, without exception, and without plea of a privileged court, immediately after publication of this ordinance, a complete catalogue of the books and pamphlets at preſent circulating, or which may hereafter circulate in their ſocieties; and they who are guilty of refuſal or neglect, ſhall pay, without exception of perſons, a fine of twenty rix-dollars; half to go to the informer.

We accordingly command all our police officers ſtrictly to execute the above ordinance, to ſend a copy of the catalogues from time to time delivered to them, to our regency, *alſo immediately to ſeize ſuch writings mentioned in the catalogues as are known to be dangerous, or are prohibited*: but in doubtful caſes, to apply to our regency for further inſtructions."

Hanover, Dec. 19 1794.

By ſpecial command of the KING and ELECTOR
Kielmannſegge, V. Beulwitz, V. Arnſwalt, V. Steinberg.
C. L. HOPNER.

Strictures

Strictures on the Second Part of Paine's Rights of Man, with copious Extracts.

(From the Analytical Review for March, 1792.)

COURTEOUS reader, we announce to thee, the publication of the Second part of the Rights of Man. Wert thou pleaſed with the firſt part? Thou wilt be delighted with the ſecond. Didſt thou ſay of the former, ſuch a work deſerves no other confutation than that of criminal juſtice? Thou wilt ſay of this, the only way to anſwer it is to hang the author.

For our parts, we wiſh neither to kindle thy hopes, nor to provoke thy horrors. Lo! we introduce thee to the author, and leave thee and him to ſettle the proper mode of confutation. Only keep your tempers. We will ſit by; and as reviewers of the controverſy, will occaſionally break ſilence. We will alſo take the liberty of dropping at the cloſe a few remarks, to qualify your tempers, if you ſhould chance to diſagree.

Thou wilt perceive, reader, at the outſet, that Mr. P. ſo far from thinking he has received any defeat from the replies made to his former publication, conceives himſelf to ſtand on an eminence, aſſerts a victory, and claims a triumph. P. vii.

'Several other reaſons contributed to produce this determination (of deferring the remainder of his work.) I wiſhed to know the manner in which a work, written in a ſtyle of thinking and expreſſion different to what had been cuſtomary in England, would be received before I proceeded farther. A great field was opening to the view of mankind by means of the French Revolution. Mr. Burke's outrageous oppoſition thereto brought the controverſy into England. He attacked principles which he knew (from information) I would conteſt with him, becauſe they are principles I believe to be good, and which I have contributed to

to eſtabliſh, and conceive myſelf bound to defend. Had he not urged the controverſy, I had moſt probably been a ſilent man.

'Another reaſon was, that Mr. Burke promiſed in his firſt publication to renew the ſubject at another opportunity, and to make a compariſon of what he called the Engliſh and French Conſtitutions. I therefore held myſelf in reſerve for him. He has publiſhed two works ſince, without doing this; which he certainly would not have omitted, had the compariſon been in his favour.

'In his laſt work, "*His appeal from the new to the old Whigs*," he has quoted about ten pages from the *Rights of Man*, and having given himſelf the trouble of doing this, ſays, "he ſhall not attempt "in the ſmalleſt degree to refute them," meaning the principles therein contained. I am enough acquainted with Mr. Burke to know, that he would if he could. But inſtead of conteſting them, he immediately after conſoles himſelf with ſaying, that "he has done his part."—He has not done his part. He has not performed his promiſe of a compariſon of conſtitutions. He ſtarted the controverſy, he gave the challenge, and has fled from it; and he is now a *caſe in point* with his own opinion, that, "*the age of chivalry is gone!*"

'The title, as well as the ſubſtance of his laſt work, his "*Appeal*," is his condemnation. Principles muſt ſtand on their own merits, and if they are good, they certainly will. To put them under the ſhelter of other men's authority, as Mr. Burke has done, ſerves to bring them into ſuſpicion. Mr. Burke is not very fond of dividing his honours, but in this caſe he is artfully dividing the diſgrace.

'But who are thoſe to whom Mr. Burke has made his appeal? A ſet of childiſh thinkers and half-way politicians born in the laſt century; men who went no farther with any principle than as it

ſuited

ſuited their purpoſe as a party; the nation was always left out of the queſtion; and this has been the character of every party from that day to this. The nation ſees nothing in ſuch works, or ſuch politics worthy its attention. A little matter will move a party, but it muſt be ſomething great that moves a nation.

'Though I ſee nothing in Mr. Burke's Appeal worth taking notice of, there is, however, one expreſſion upon which I ſhall offer a few remarks. After quoting largely from the *Rights of Man*, and declining to conteſt the principles contained in that work, he ſays, "this will moſt probably be done "(*if ſuch writings ſhall be thought to deſerve any other* "*refutation than that of criminal juſtice*) by others, "who may think with Mr. Burke, and with the "ſame zeal,"

'In the firſt place, it has not yet been done by any body. Not leſs I believe, than eight or ten pamphlets intended as anſwers to the former part of the "Rights of Man" have been publiſhed by different perſons, and not one of them, to my knowledge, has extended to a ſecond edition, nor are even the titles of them ſo much as generally remembered. As I am averſe to unneceſſarily multiplying publications, I have anſwered none of them. And as I believe that a man may write himſelf out of reputation when nobody elſe can do it, I am careful to avoid that rock.

'But as I would decline unneceſſary publications on the one hand, ſo would I avoid every thing that might appear like ſullen pride on the other. If Mr, Burke, or any other perſon on his ſide the queſtion, will produce an anſwer to the "Rights of Man," that ſhall extend to an half, or even to a fourth part of the number of copies to which the Rights of Man extended, I will reply to his work. But untill this be done, I ſhall ſo far take the ſenſe of the public for my guide, (and the world knows

I am not a flatterer) that what they do not think worth while to read, is not worth mine to anſwer. I ſuppoſe the number of copies to which the firſt part of the *Rights of Man* extended, taking England, Scotland, and Ireland, is not leſs than between forty and fifty thouſand.'

Mr. P. taking the common notion of the excellency of the Engliſh conſtitution (Mr. P. will excuſe our uſing that expreſſion) to be fallacious, and aiming to prepare his readers for remarks on its imperfections, proceeds as follows. P. xiv.

'As to the prejudices which men have from education and habit, in favour of any particular form or ſyſtem of government, thoſe prejudices have yet to ſtand the teſt of reaſon and reflection. In fact, ſuch prejudices are nothing. No man is prejudiced in favour of a thing, knowing it to be wrong. He is attached to it on the belief of its being right; and when he ſees it is not ſo, the prejudice will be gone. We have but a defective idea of what prejudice is. It might be ſaid, that until men think for themſelves the whole is prejudice, and *not opinion*; for that only is opinion which is the reſult of reaſon and reflection. I offer this remark, that Mr. Burke may not confide too much in what has been the cuſtomary prejudices of the country.

'I do not believe that the people of England have ever been fairly and candidly dealt by. They have been impoſed upon by parties, and by men aſſuming the character of leaders. It is time that the nation ſhould riſe above thoſe trifles. It is time to diſmiſs that inattention which has ſo long been the encouraging cauſe of ſtretching taxation to exceſs. It is time to diſmiſs all thoſe ſongs and toaſts which are calculated to enſlave, and operate to ſuffocate reflection. On all ſuch ſubjects men have but to think, and they will neither act wrong, nor be miſled. To ſay that any people are not

not fit for freedom, is to make poverty their choice, and to ſay they had rather be loaded with taxes than not. If ſuch a caſe could be proved, it would equally prove, that thoſe who govern are not fit to govern them, for they are a part of the ſame national maſs.

'But admitting governments to be changed all over Europe; it certainly may be done without convulſion or revenge. It is not worth making changes or revolutions, unleſs it be for ſome great national benefit; and when this ſhall appear to a nation, the danger will be, as in America and France, to thoſe who oppoſe.'

Speaking of the expectations to be formed from the prevailing bias towards revolutions in different nations, our author obſerves, p. 4.

'As revolutions have begun, (and as the probability is always greater againſt a thing beginning than of proceeding after it has begun), it is natural to expect that other revolutions will follow. The amazing and ſtill encreaſing expences with which old governments are conducted, the numerous wars they engage in or provoke, the embarraſſments they throw in the way of univerſal civilization and commerce, and the oppreſſion and uſurpation they act at home have wearied out the patience, and exhauſted the property of the world. In ſuch a ſituation, and with the examples already exiſting, revolutions are to be looked for. They are become ſubjects of univerſal converſation, and may be conſidered as the *Order of the day*.

'If ſyſtems of government can be introduced, leſs expenſive, and more productive of general happineſs, than thoſe which have exiſted, all attempts to oppoſe their progreſs will in the end be fruitleſs. Reaſon, like time, will make its own way, and prejudice will fall in a combat with intereſt. If univerſal peace, civilization, and commerce, are ever to be the happy lot of man, it cannot

cannot be accompliſhed but by a revolution in the ſyſtem of governments. All the monarchical governments are military. War is their trade, plunder and revenue their objects. While ſuch governments continue, peace has not the abſolute ſecurity of a day. What is the hiſtory of all monarchical governments, but a diſguſtful picture of human wretchedneſs, and the accidental reſpite of a few years repoſe? Wearied with war, and tired with human butchery, they ſat down to reſt, and called it peace. This certainly is not the condition that Heaven intended for man; and if *this be monarchy*, well might monarchy be reckoned among the ſins of the Jews.

'The revolutions which formerly took place in the world, had nothing in them that intereſted the bulk of mankind. They extended only to a change of perſons and meaſures, but not of principles, and roſe or fell among the common tranſactions of the moment. What we now behold, may not improperly be called a "*counter revolution*" Conqueſt and tyranny, at ſome early period, diſpoſſeſſed man of his rights, and he is now recovering them. And as the tide of all human affairs has its ebb and flow in directions contrary to each other, ſo alſo is it in this. Government founded on a *moral theory, on a ſyſtem of univerſal peace, on the indefeaſible hereditary Rights of Man*, is now revolving from weſt to eaſt, by a ſtronger impulſe than the government of the ſword revolved from eaſt to weſt. It intereſts not particular individuals, but nations, in its progreſs, and promiſes a new æra to the human race.'

This work is divided into five chapters, preſenting remarks on ſociety and civilization—on the origin of the preſent old Governments (among the old governments comes poor old England)—on the old and new ſyſtems of governments—on conſtitutions

tions—ways and means of improving the condition of Europe.

With reſpect to the chapter on civilization, we cannot help expreſſing our admiration of many remarks, which betray great political capacity, and much originality of thought. Mr. Paine ſuppoſes, from the intereſt men have in ſociety, that the inſtances in which a formal government has any real benefit are few, and that the more perfect civilization is, the leſs occaſion there is for government. Our author obſerves, P. 11.

'If we look back to the riots and tumults, which at various times have happened in England, we ſhall find, that they did not proceed from the want of a government, but that government was itſelf the generating cauſe; inſtead of conſolidating ſociety, it divided it: it deprived it of its natural coheſion, and engendered diſcontents and diſorders, which otherwiſe would not have exiſted. In thoſe aſſociations which men promiſcuouſly form for the purpoſe of trade, or of any concern, in which government is totally out of the queſtion, and in which they act merely on the principles of ſociety, we ſee how naturally the various parties unite; and this ſhews, by compariſon, that governments, ſo far from being always the cauſe or means of order, are often the deſtruction of it. The riots of 1780 had no other ſource than the remains of thoſe prejudices, which the government itſelf had encouraged. But with reſpect to England there are alſo other cauſes.

'Exceſs and inequality of taxation, however diſguiſed in the means, never fail to appear in their effects. As a great maſs of the community are thrown hereby into poverty and diſcontent, they are conſtantly on the brink of commotion; and deprived, as they unfortunately are, of the means of information, are eaſily heated to outrage. Whatever the apparent cauſe of any riots may be, the

real one is always want of happineſs. It ſhews that ſomething is wrong in the ſyſtem of governmen, that injures the felicity by which ſociety is to be preſerved.'

In ſpeaking of the origin of the old governments, Mr. P. traces monarchy to a banditti of Ruffians! Do but hear him! P. 15.

'It is impoſſible that ſuch governments as have hitherto exiſted in the world, could have commenced by any other means than a total violation of every principle ſacred and moral. The obſcurity in which the origin of all the preſent old governments is buried, implies the iniquity and diſgrace with which they began. The origin of the preſent government of America and France will ever be remembered, becauſe it is honourable to record it; but with reſpect to the reſt, even flattery has conſigned them to the tomb of time, without an inſpiration.

'It could have been no difficult thing in the early and ſolitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to overrun a country, and lay it under contributions. Their power being thus eſtabliſhed, the chief of the band contrived to loſe the name of robber in that of monarch; and hence the origin of monarchy and kings.

'The origin of the government of England, ſo far as relates to what is called its line of monarchy, being one of the lateſt, is perhaps the beſt recorded. The hatred which the Norman invaſion and tyranny begat, muſt have been deeply rooted in the nation, to have outlived the contrivance to obliterate it. Though not a courtier will talk of the curfeu bell, not a village in England has forgotten it.'

Theſe remarks, however, though they will ap-

ply to moſt of the monarchies which have been eſtabliſhed, will certainly not apply to all,

When treating on the origin of the old and new ſyſtems of government, our author makes the following ſevere reflections on hereditary government. P. 21.

'Government ought to be a thing always in full maturity. It ought to be ſo conſtructed as to be ſuperior to all the accidents to which individual man is ſubject; and therefore, hereditary ſucceſſion, by being *ſubject to them all*, is the moſt irregular and imperfect of all the ſyſtems of government.

'We have heard the *Rights of Man* called a *levelling* ſyſtem; but the only ſyſtem to which the word *levelling* is truly applicable, is the hereditary monarchical ſyſtem. It is a ſyſtem of *mental levelling*. It indiſcriminately admits every ſpecies of character to the ſame authority. Vice and virtue, ignorance and wiſdom, in ſhort, every quality, good or bad, is put on the ſame level. Kings ſucceed each other, not as rationals, but as animals. It ſignifies not what their mental or moral characters are. Can we then be ſurpriſed at the abject ſtate of the human mind in monarchial countries, when the government itſelf is formed on ſuch an abject levelling ſyſtem?—It has no fixed character. To day it is one thing; to-morrow it is ſomething elſe. It changes with the temper of every ſucceeding individual, and is ſubject to all the varieties of each. It is government through the medium of paſſions and accident. It appears under all the various characters of childhood, decrepitude, dotage, a thing at nurſe, in leading-ſtrings, or in crutches. It reverſes the wholeſome order of nature. It occaſionally puts children over men, and the conceits of non-age over wiſdom and experience. In ſhort, we cannot conceive a more ridiculous figure of government, than hereditary ſucceſſion, in all its caſes preſents.

'Could it be made a degree in nature, or an

edict registered in heaven, and man could know it that virtue and wisdom should invariably appertain to hereditary succession, the objections to it would be removed; but when we see that nature acts as if she disowned and sported with the hereditary system; that the mental characters of successors, in all countries, are below the average of human understanding; that one is a tyrant, another an ideot, a third insane, and some all three together, it is impossible to attach confidence to it, when reason in man has power to act.'

In speaking on the tendency of elective governments, many political writers have spoken of them as the cause of civil wars. Mr. Paine on the other hand contends, that civil wars, which have originated from contested hereditary claims, are more numerous, and have been more dreadful, and of longer continuance, than those which have been occasioned by elective governments. Mr. Paine's views here correspond to the reflections made on the same subject by the illustrious sufferer Algernon Sidney.

One hardly can help smiling at the following remark, P. 36.

'Whether I have too little sense to see, or too much to be imposed upon; whether I have too much or too little pride, or of any thing else, I leave out of the question; but certain it is, that what is called monarchy, always appears to me a silly, contemptible thing. I compare it to something kept behind a curtain, about which there is a great deal of bustle and fuss, and a wonderful air of seeming solemnity; but when, by any accident, the curtain happens to be opened, and the company see what it is, they burst into laughter.'

Whether the remark be true or false, we do not determine; *sed risum teneatis amici?*

If those which follow be all true, however, dis-

posed

poſed as we were to ſmile, we could not avoid being grave. P. 38.

'That monarchy is all a bubble, a mere court artifice to procure money, is evident (at leaſt to me), in every character in which it can be viewed. It would be impoſſible, on the rational ſyſtem of repreſentative government, to make out a bill of expences to ſuch an enormous amount as this deception admits. Government is not of itſelf a very chargeable inſtitution. The whole expence of the federal government of America, founded, as I have already ſaid, on the ſyſtem of repreſentation, and extending over a country ten times as large as England, is but ſix hundred thouſand dollars, or one hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds ſterling.

'I preſume, that no man in his ſober ſenſes, will compare the character of any of the kings of Europe with that of General Waſhington. Yet, in France, and alſo in England, the expence of the civil liſt only, for the ſupport of one man, is eight times greater than the whole expence of the federal government in America. To aſſign a reaſon for this, appears almoſt impoſſible. The generality of people in America, eſpecially the poor, are more able to pay taxes, than the generality of people either in France or England.

'But the caſe is, that the repreſentative ſyſtem diffuſes ſuch a body of knowledge throughout a nation, on the ſubject of government, as to explode ignorance, and preclude impoſition. The craft of courts cannot be acted on that ground. There is no place for myſtery; no where for it to begin. Thoſe who are no in the repreſentation, know as much of the nature of buſineſs as thoſe who are. An affectation of myſterious importance would there be ſcouted. Nations can have no ſecrets; and the ſecrets of courts, like thoſe of individuals, are always their defects.'

'Our author, after ſtating the manner in which America proceeded in forming her conſtitution, ſtill inſiſts on what he had formerly advanced, viz. that England has no conſtitution. Whether truly or no, we leave others to decide. We will juſt quote a word or two on this ſubject.

'In England, (p. 50. 51.) it is not difficult to perceive that every thing has a conſtitution, except the nation. Every ſociety and aſſociation that is eſtabliſhed, firſt agreed upon a number of original articles, digeſted into form, which are its conſtitution. It then appointed its officers, whoſe powers and authorities are deſcribed in that conſtitution, and the government of that ſociety then commenced. Thoſe officers, by whatever name they are called, have no authority to add to, alter, or abridge the original articles. It is only to the conſtituting power that this right belongs.

'From the want of underſtanding the difference between a conſtitution and a government, Dr, Johnſon, and all writers of his deſcription, have always bewildered themſelves. They could not but perceive, that there muſt neceſſarily be a *controuling* power exiſting ſomewhere, and they placed this power in the diſcretion of the perſons exerciſing the government, inſtead of placing it in a conſtitution formed by the nation. When it is in a conſtitution, it has the nation for its ſupport, and the natural and the political countrouling powers are together. The laws which are enacted by governments, countroul men only as individuals, but the nation, through its conſtitution, countrouls the whole government, and has a natural ability ſo to do. The final controuling power, therefore, and the original conſtituting power, are one and the ſame power.'

Having, as he thinks, demoliſhed the doctrine of an 'Engliſh conſtitution,' he then drops a word or two on precedents, &c.

'In

'In numerous inſtances, he ſays (P. 58.) 'the precedent ought to operate as a warning, and not as an example, and requires to be ſhunned inſtead of imitated; but inſtead of this, precedents are taken in the lump, and put at once for conſtitution and for law.

'Either the doctrine of precedents is policy to keep a man in a ſtate of ignorance or is it a practical confeſſion that wiſdom degenerates in governments, as governments increaſe in age, and can only hobble along by the ſtilts and crutches of precedents. How is it that the ſame perſons who would proudly be thought wiſer than their predeceſſors, appear at the ſame time only as the ghoſts of departed wiſdom? How ſtrangely is antiquity treated! To anſwer ſome purpoſes it is ſpoken of as the times of darkneſs and ignorance, and to anſwer others, it is put for the light of the world.

'If the doctrine of precedents is to be followed, the expences of government need not continue the ſame. Why pay men extravagantly, who have but little to do? If every thing that can happen is already in precedent, legiſlation is at an end, and precedent, like a dictionary, determines every caſe. Either, therefore, government has arrived at its dotage, and requires to be renovated, or all the occaſions for exerciſing its wiſdom have occurred.'

In ſpeaking on the expences of government our author is ſometimes very affecting, and ſometimes very indignant.

P. 68. 'It is inhuman to talk of a million ſterling a year, paid out of the public taxes of any country, for the ſupport of any individual, whilſt thouſands who are forced to contribute thereto, are pining with want, and ſtruggling with miſery. Government does not conſiſt in a contraſt between priſons and palaces, between poverty and pomp; it is not inſtituted to rob the needy of his mite, and

and increaſe the wretchedneſs of the wretched.—But of this part of the ſubject I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, and confine myſelf at preſent to political obſervations.

'When extraordinary power and extraordinary pay are allotted to any individual in a government, he becomes the center, round which every kind of corruption generates and forms. Give to any man a million a year, and add thereto the power of creating and diſpoſing of places, at the expence of a country, and the liberties of that country are no longer ſecure. What is called the ſplendor of a throne is no other than the corruption of the ſtate. It is made up of a band of paraſites, living in luxurious indolence, out of the public taxes.

'When once ſuch a vicious ſyſtem is eſtabliſhed, it becomes the guard and protection of all inferior abuſes. The man who is in the receipt of a million a year, is the laſt perſon to promote a ſpirit of reform, leſt, in the event, it ſhould reach to himſelf. It is always his intereſt to defend inferior abuſes, as ſo many out-works to protect the citadel; and in this ſpecies of political fortification, all the parts have ſuch a common dependence that it is never to be expected they will attack each other†.

'Monarchy

† 'It is ſcarcely poſſible to touch on any ſubject that will not ſuggeſt an alluſion to ſome corruption in governments. The ſimile of "fortifications," unfortunately involves with it a circumſtance, which is directly in point with the matter above alluded to.

'Among the numerous inſtances of abuſe which have been acted or protected by governments, ancient or modern, there is not a greater than that of quartering a man and his heirs upon the public, to be maintained at its expence.

'Humanity dictates a proviſion for the poor; but by what right, moral or political, does any government aſſume to ſay, that the perſon called the Duke of Richmond, ſhall be maintained by the public? Yet, if common report is true, not a beggar in London can purchaſe his wretched pittance of coal, without paying towards the civil liſt of the Duke of Richmond. Were the whole produce of

'Monarchy would not have continued ſo many ages in the world, had it not been for the abuſes it protects. It is the maſter-fraud, which ſhelters all others. By admitting a participation of the ſpoil, it makes itſelf friends; and when it ceaſes to do this, it will ceaſe to be the idol of courtiers.'

Every hereditary claim Mr. Paine not only treats as a great abſurdity, but as a ſevere cruelty; as proceeding from a ſyſtem which, while it aggrandizes one branch of a family, impoveriſhes all the reſt, making them either beggars or penſioners. The younger branches of families thus made needy and dependent, too untaught to purſue a line of induſtry, and too high-ſpirited to ſubmit to poverty, throw themſelves on the mercy of government, and become either tools or knaves.

Whatever ſentiments particular readers may form on ſome part of this work, there are, we apprehend, in the laſt chapter, remarks entitled to the ſerious conſideration of all parties, reſpecting the expences of government, the baneful tendency of charters and corporations—the oppreſſive nature of our taxes on the poor, ariſing from the very formation of our government, and our boaſted ſyſtem of repreſentation (which many writers, as well as Mr. Paine, ridicule as fallacious and theoretical or deſpiſe as neceſſarily corruptible, and oppreſſive)—the progreſs of taxation in England—the neceſſary expences of government—and the means of diſpoſing of the ſurplus taxes.

of this impoſition but a ſhilling a year, the iniquitous principle would be ſtill the ſame; but when it amounts, as it is ſaid to do, to not leſs than twenty thouſand pounds per ann. the enormity is too ſerious to be permitted to remain.—This is one of the effects of monarchy and ariſtocracy.

'In ſtating this caſe, I am led by no perſonal diſlike. Though I think it mean in any man to live upon the public, the vice originates in the government; and ſo general is it become, that whether the parties are in the miniſtry or in the oppoſition, it makes no difference: they are ſure of the guarantee of each other.'

In

In remarking on what Mr. Burke ſaid relative to the Houſe of Peers, the following fact is produced, which Mr. Paine calls a fact not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of taxation.

P. 100. 'Notwithſtanding taxes have encreaſed and multiplied upon every article of common conſumption, the land tax, which more particularly affects this 'pillar' has diminiſhed. In 1788, the amount of the land-tax was 1,950,000*l.* which is half a million leſs than it produced almoſt an hundred years ago†, notwithſtanding the rentals are in many inſtances doubled ſince that period.

'Before the coming of the Hanoverians, the taxes were divided in nearly equal proportions between the land and articles of conſumption, the land bearing rather the largeſt ſhare; but ſince that æra, nearly thirteen millions annually of new taxes have been thrown upon conſumption. The conſequence of which has been a conſtant encreaſe in the number and wretchedneſs of the poor, and in the amount of the poor-rates. Yet here again the burthens does not fall in equal proportions on the ariſtocracy with the reſt of the community. Their reſidences, whether in town or country, are not mixed with the habitations of the poor. They live apart from diſtreſs, and the expence of relieving it. It is in manufacturing towns and labouring villages that thoſe burthens preſs the heavieſt; in many of which it is one claſs of poor ſupporting another.

'Several of the moſt heavy and productive taxes are ſo contrived, as to give an exemption to this pillar, thus ſtanding in its own defence. The tax upon beer brewed for ſale does not affect the ariſtocracy, who brew their own beer free of this duty. It falls only on thoſe who have not convenience or ability to brew, and who muſt purchaſe it in

† 'See Sir John Sinclair's Hiſtory of the Revenue.' The land tax in 1646 was 2,473,499*l.*

ſmall

ſmall quantities. But what will mankind think of the juſtice of taxation, when they know, that this tax alone, from which the ariſtocracy are from circumſtances exempt, is nearly equal to the whole of the land-tax, being in the year 1788, and it is not leſs now, than 1,666,152*l.* and with its proportion of the taxes on malt and hops, it exceeds it.—That a ſingle article, thus partially conſumed, and that chiefly by the working part, ſhould be ſubject to a tax, equal to that on the whole rental of a nation, is, perhaps, a fact not to be parelleled in the hiſtories of revenues.'

'The taxes levied by William the Conqueror, beginning in the year 1066, were 400,000*l.*—In the year 1466 they had decreaſed to 100,000. Five hundred years after the conqueſt (1566) the annual amount of taxes was 500,000*l.* Annual amount of taxes in 1791, 17,000,000*l.* excluſive of the expence of collection, and the drawbacks, which are nearly 2,000,000*l.* more.' The difference between the firſt 400 years and the laſt three, continues Mr. P. is ſo aſtoniſhing as to warrant an opinion that the national character of the Engliſh has changed. About 9,000,000*l.* of this ſum is appropriated to pay the intereſt of the national debt.

Mr. Paine ſuppoſes, from a variety of circumſtances taken together, that the annual expenditure might be fixed at 1,500,000*l.* The ſurplus of more than 6,000,000*l.* out of the preſent current expences, he ſuppoſes, might be diſpoſed of as follows. The poor rates might be aboliſhed, and in lieu of them a remiſſion of taxes might be made to the poor of double the amount of thoſe rates out of the ſurplus taxes. By which means the poor would be benefited 20,000*l.* and the houſekeepers 20,000*l* This remiſſion he ſuppoſes to be applied to the education of poor children, and the ſupport of old people paſt their labour; to the education of children of a claſs of people, who, though not ſtrictly

poor

poor, are incapable of giving their children education: to the relief of workmen (making the demand) on the birth of a child, and of every new married couple claiming in like manner; and 20.000*l.* to defray the funeral expences of perſons who, travelling for work, die at a diſtance from their friends; 20,000*l.* to what he calls 'a world of little caſes,' ariſing particularly in London. To make up the deficiency, neceſſary to ſupply the demand of theſe caſes, he propoſes to add 20 000*l.* the tax laid on coals in London, 'ſo inquitouſly and wantonly applied to the ſupport of the Duke of Richmond.' The ſum of 2,000,000*l.* of the current expences, Mr. Paine would apply as follows: 117,000*l.* to the relief of diſbanded ſoldiers; additional pay to the remaining ſoldiers 19,500*l.* To the officers of the diſbanded corps 117,000*l.*; to the diſbanded navy the ſame ſum, amounting to 253,500*l.* the total 507,000*l.*; he alſo propoſes, that as any part of this half million falls in, part of the taxes may be taken off. There now remain at leaſt one million and an half of ſurplus taxes: he therefore propoſes that the tax on houſes and windows may be taken off, amounting to 516, 199*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* ¼, and the ſurplus of 10,000*l.* of ſurplus taxes to be kept in reſerve for incidental matters.

In this plan of reform Mr. Paine propoſes, that the commutation tax may be taken off, and that there be ſubſtituted in its room a tax on eſtates, ſo regulated as to deſtroy the unnatural law of primogeniture, ſo fruitful of corruptions at elections.

Our author alſo propoſes, that the laws regulating workmens wages ſhould be aboliſhed, and the yet remaining ſum of ſurplus taxes (10000*l.*) he propoſes to be applied to increaſe the ſalary of the inferior revenue officers, and of the inferior clergy.

Though

Though we have already exceeded the bounds of our review, we cannot avoid tranſcribing the following paſſages.

P. 162. 'When a nation changes its opinion and habits of thinking, it is no longer to be governed as before: but it would not only be wrong, but bad policy, to attempt by force what ought to be accompliſhed by reaſon. Rebellion conſiſts in forcibly oppoſing the general will of a nation, whether by a party or by a government. There ought, therefore, to be in every nation a method of occaſionally aſcertaining the ſtate of public opinion with reſpect to government. On this point the old government of France was ſuperior to the preſent government of England, becauſe, on extraordinary occaſions, recourſe could be had to what was then called the States General. But in England there are no ſuch occaſional bodies; and as to thoſe who are now called Repreſentatives, a great part of them are mere machines of the court, placemen, and dependants.

'I preſume, that though all the people of England pay taxes, not an hundreth part of them are electors, and the members of one of the houſes of parliament repreſent nobody but themſelves. There is, therefore, no power but the voluntary will of the people that has a right to act in any matter reſpecting a general reform; and by the ſame right that two perſons can confer on ſuch a ſubject, a thouſand may. The object, in all ſuch preliminary proceedings, is to find out what the general ſenſe of a nation is, and to be governed by it. If it prefer a bad or defective government to a reform, or chuſe to pay ten times more taxes than there is occaſion for, it has a right ſo to do; and ſo long as the majority do not impoſe conditions on the minority, different from what they impoſe on themſelves, though there may be much error, there is no injuſtice. Neither will the error continue

long. Reaſon and diſcuſſion will ſoon bring things to rights, however wrong they may begin. By ſuch a progreſs no tumult is to be apprehended. The poor, in all countries, are naturally both peaceable and grateful in all reforms in which their intereſt and happineſs is included. It is only by neglecting and rejecting them that they become tumultuous.'

Mr. P. ſeldom touches upon religion. His reaſon he aſſigns as follows:

P. 171. 'I have carefully avoided to enlarge upon the ſubject, becauſe I am inclined to believe, that what is called the preſent miniſtry wiſh to ſee contentions about religion kept up, to prevent the nation turning its attention to ſubjects of government. It is, as if they were to ſay, '*Look that way, or any way, but this.*'

ERSKINE's DEFENCE OF PAINE,

AND THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

Continued from Page 182, Vol. II.

THE univerſal God of nature,—the Saviour of mankind,—the fountain of all light, who came to pluck the world from eternal darkneſs, expired upon a croſs, the ſcoff of infidel ſcorn; and his bleſſed apoſtles followed him in the train of Martyrs. When he came in the fleſh, he might have come like the Mahometan prophet, as a powerful ſovereign, and propagated that religion with an unconquerable ſword, which even now, after the lapſe of ages, is but ſlowly moving, under the influence of reaſon, over the face of the earth: But ſuch a proceſs would have been inconſiſtent with his miſſion, which was to confound the pride, and to eſtabliſh the univerſal rights of men; he came therefore in that lowly ſtate which is repreſented

ſented in the goſpel, and preached his conſolations to the poor.

When the foundation of this religion was diſcovered to be invulnerable and immortal, we had political power taking the church into partnerſhip; thus began the corruptions both of religion and civil power, and, hand in hand together, what havock have they not made in the world; ruling by ignorance and the perſecution of truth; but this very perſecution only haſtened the revival of letters and liberty, which was to deſtroy the one, and to raiſe up the other. Nay, you will find, that in the exact proportion that knowledge and learning have been beat down and fettered, they have deſtroyed the governments that bound them. The court of Star-chamber, the firſt reſtriction of the preſs in England, was erected, previous to all the great changes in the conſtitution. From that moment no man could legally write without an imprimatur from the ſtate; but truth and freedom found their way with greater force through ſecret channels, and the unhappy Charles, unwarned by a free preſs, was brought to an ignominious death.

When men can freely communicate their thoughts and their ſufferings, real or imaginary, their paſſions ſpend themſelves in air, like gunpowder ſcattered upon the ſurface; but pent up by terrors, they work unſeen, like ſubterraneous fire, burſt forth in earthquake, and deſtroy every thing in their courſe. Let reaſon be oppoſed to reaſon, and argument to argument, and every good government will be ſafe.

The uſurper, Cromwell, purſued the ſame ſyſtem of reſtraint in ſupport of his government, and the end of it ſpeedily followed.

At the reſtoration of Charles the Second, the Star-chamber ordinance of 1637, was worked up into an act of Parliament, and was followed up during that reign, and the ſhort one that followed it,

it, by the moſt ſanguinary proſecutions; but what fact in hiſtory is more notorious, than that this blind and contemptible policy prepared and haſtened on the revolution. At that great æra theſe cobwebs were all bruſhed away: The freedom of the preſs was regenerated, and the country, ruled by its affections, has ſince enjoyed a century of tranquility and glory.—Thus I have maintained, by Engliſh hiſtory, that in proportion as the preſs has been free, Engliſh government has been ſecure.

Gentlemen, I will now ſupport the ſame important truth by very great authorities. Upon a ſubject of this kind, reſort cannot be had to law-caſes. The ancient law of England know nothing of ſuch libels; they began, and ſhould have ended with the Star-chamber. What writings are ſlanderous of individuals muſt be looked for where theſe proſecutions are recorded; but upon general ſubjects we muſt go to general writers. If indeed, I were to refer to obſcure authors, I might be anſwered, that my very authorities were libels, inſtead of juſtifications or examples; but this cannot be ſaid with effect of great men, whoſe works are claſſics in our language. taught in our ſchools, and printed under the eye of government.

Gentlemen, I ſhall begin with the poet Milton, a great authority in all learning.——It may be ſaid, indeed, he was a republican, but that would only prove that REPUBLICANISM IS NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH VIRTUE; it may be ſaid too, that the work which I cite was written againſt previous licencing, which is not contended for to-day. But in my opinion, if every work is to be adjudged a libel, which is adverſe to the wiſhes of government, or to the opinions of thoſe who may try it, the revival of a licencer would be a ſecurity to the public: For, if I preſent my book to a magiſtrate appointed by law, if he rejects it, I have only

only to forbear from the publication, and in the forbearance I am ſafe; and he too is anſwerable for the abuſe of his authority. But, upon the argument of to-day, a man muſt print at his peril, without any guide to the principles of judgment, upon which his work may be afterwards proſecuted and condemned. Milton's argument therefore applies, and was meant to apply, to every interruption to writing, which, while they oppreſs the individual, endanger the ſtate.

"We have them not," ſays Milton, "that can "be heard of, from any ancient ſtate, or polity, or "church, nor by any ſtatute left us by our anceſ-"tors, elder or later, nor from the modern cuſtom "of any reformed city, abroad; but from the "moſt antichriſtian council, and the moſt tyran-"nous inquiſition that ever exiſted. Till then, "books were ever as freely admitted into the world "as any other birth; *the iſſue of the brain was no* "*more ſtifled than the iſſue of the womb.*"

"To the pure all things are pure; not only "meats and drinks, but all kind of knowledge, "whether good or evil; the knowledge cannot "defile, nor conſequently the books, if the will "and conſcience be not defiled.

"Bad books ſerve in many reſpects to diſcover, "to confute, to forewarn, and to illuſtrate. Where-"of what better witneſs can we expect I ſhould "produce, than one of your own, now ſitting in "Parliament, the chief of learned men reputed in "this land, *Mr. Selden*; whoſe volume of natural "and national laws proves, not only by great au-"thorities brought together, but by exquiſite "reaſons and theorems, almoſt mathematically "demonſtrative, that all opinions, yea errors, "known, read, and collated, are of main ſervice "and aſſiſtance toward the ſpeedy attainment of "what is trueſt.

"Opinions and underſtanding are not ſuch

"wares as to be monopolized and traded in by "tickets and ſtatutes, and ſtandards. We muſt "not think to make a ſtaple commodity of all "the knowledge in the land, to mark and licence "it, like our broad-cloth, and our wool-packs.

"Nor is it to the common people leſs than a "reproach; for if we be ſo jealous over them, "that we cannot truſt them with an Engliſh "pamphlet, what do we but cenſure them, for a "giddy, vicious, and ungrounded people; in ſuch "a ſick and weak eſtate of faith and diſcretion, as "to be able to take nothing down but through the "pipe of a licencer. That this is care or love of "them we cannot pretend.

"Thoſe corruptions which it ſeeks to prevent, "break in faſter at doors which cannot be ſhut.

"To prevent men thinking and acting for "themſelves. by reſtraints on the preſs, is like to "the exploits of the gallant man, who, thought "to pound up the crows by ſhutting his park "gate.

"This obſtructing violence meets for the moſt "part with an event, utterly oppoſite to the end "which it drives at: inſtead of ſuppreſſing books, "it raiſes them and inveſts them with a reputati-"on: the puniſhment of wits enhances their au-"thority, ſaith the viſcount St. Albans; and a "forbidden writing is thought to be a certain ſpark "of truth, that flies up in the face of them who "ſeek to tread it out."

He then adverts to his viſit to the famous Galileo, whom he found and viſited in the inquiſition, "for not thinking in aſtronomy with the Franciſ-"can and Dominican monks." And what event ought more deeply to intereſt and affect us. The very laws of nature were to bend under the rod of a licencer; this illuſtrious aſtronomer ended his life within the bars of a priſon, becauſe, in ſeeing the phaſes of Venus through his newly invented teleſcope

teleſcope, he pronounced, that ſhe ſhone with borrowed light, and from the ſun as the center: that ſun which now inhabits it upon the foundation of mathematical truth, which enables us to travel the pathleſs ocean, and to carry our line and rule amongſt other worlds, which but for Galileo we had never known, perhaps even to the receſſes of an infinite and immortal God.

Milton then, in the moſt eloquent addreſs to the parliament, puts the Liberty of the Preſs on its true and moſt honourable foundation. "Believe "it Lords and Commons, they who counſel ye "to ſuch a ſuppreſſing of books, do as good as b d "you ſuppreſs yourſelves; and I will ſoon ſhew "how.

"If it be deſired to know the immediate cauſe "of all this free writing and free ſpeaking, "there cannot be aſſigned a truer than your own "mild, and free, and humane government; it "is the liberty, lords and commons, which "your own valourous and happy counſels have "purchaſed us; liberty which is the nurſe of "all great wits: this is that which hath rarified "and enlightened our ſpirits like the influence of "Heaven; this is that which hath enfranchiſed, "enlarged and lifted up our apprehenſions, de-"grees above themſelves. Ye cannot make us "now leſs able, leſs knowing, leſs eagerly purſu-"ing the truth, unleſs ye firſt make yourſelves, "that made us ſo leſs the lovers, leſs the founders "of our true liberty. We can grow ignorant "again, brutiſh formal and ſlaviſh, as ye found "us; but ye then muſt become that which ye "cannot be, oppreſſive, arbitrary and tyrannous, "as they were from whom ye freed us. That our "hearts are now more capacious, our thoughts "now more erected to the ſearch and expectation "of greateſt and exacteſt things, is the iſſue of "your own virtue propagated in us. Give me

"the

" the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue
" freely according to conſcience, above all liber-
" ties."

Gentlemen, I will now refer you to another author, whoſe opinion you may think more in point, as having lived in our own times, and as holding the higheſt monarchical principles of government. I ſpeak of Mr. Hume, who, nevertheleſs, conſiders, that this liberty of the preſs extends not only to abſtract ſpeculation, but to keep the public on their guard againſt all the acts of their government.

After ſhewing the advantages of a monarchy to public freedom, provided it is duly controlled and watched by the popular part of the conſtitution, he ſays, " Theſe principles account for the great
" liberty of the preſs in theſe kingdoms, beyond
" what is indulged in any other government. It
" is apprehended, that arbitrary power would
" ſteal in upon us, were we not careful to prevent
" its progreſs, and were there not an eaſy method
" of conveying the alarm from one end of the
" kingdom to the other. *The ſpirit of the people*
" *muſt frequently be rouſed, in order to curb the ambi-*
" *tion of the court*; and the dread of rouſing this
" ſpirit muſt be employed to prevent that ambition.
" Nothing is ſo effectual to this purpoſe, as the
" liberty of the preſs, by which all the learning,
" wit, and genius of the nation, may be employed
" on the ſide of freedom; and every one be ani-
" mated to its defence. *As long, therefore, as the*
" *republican part of our government can maintain itſelf*
" *againſt the monarchical, it will naturally be careful*
" *to keep the preſs open, as of importance to its own*
" *preſervation.*

There is another authority co-temporary with the laſt, a ſplendid ſpeaker in the upper Houſe of Parliament, and who held during moſt of his time high offices under the king; I ſpeak of the Earl

of

of Cheſterfield, who thus expreſſed himſelf in the Houſe of Lords:—" One of the greateſt bleſſings, " my lords, we enjoy, is liberty; but every good " in this life has its alloy of evil—licentiouſneſs " is the alloy of liberty, it is."——

Lord Kenyon. Doctor Johnſon claims to pluck that feather from Lord Cheſterfield's wing; he ſpeaks, I believe, of the eye of the political body.

Mr. Erſkine. Gentlemen, I have heard it ſaid, that Lord Cheſterfield borrowed that which I was juſt about to ſtate, and which his lordſhip has anticipated.

Lord Kenyon. That every ſpeech which did Lord Cheſterfield ſo much honour, is ſuppoſed to have been written by Doctor Johnſon.

Mr. Erſkine. Gentlemen, I believe it was ſo, and I am much obliged to his lordſhip for giving me a far higher authority for my doctrine. For though Lord Cheſterfield was a man of great ingenuity and wit, he was undoubtedly far inferior in learning and in monarchical opinion, to the celebrated writer to whom my lord has now delivered the work by his authority. Doctor Johnſon then ſays, " One of the greateſt bleſſings we enjoy, one of " the greateſt bleſſings a people, my lords, can " enjoy, is liberty; but every good in this life has " its alloy of evil: Licentiouſneſs is the alloy of " liberty; it is an ebullition, and excreſcence; it " is a ſpeck upon the eye of the political body, " which I can never touch but with a gentle, with a trembling hand, leſt I deſtroy the body, leſt I " injure the eye upon which it is apt to appear.

" There is ſuch a connection between licen- " tiouſneſs and liberty, that it is not eaſy to cor- " rect the one, without dangerouſly wounding " the other; it is extremely hard to diſtinguiſh " the true limit between them; like a changeable " ſilk, we can eaſily ſee there are two different " colours, but we cannot eaſily diſcover where

" the

" the one ends, or where the other begins."

I confeſs, I cannot help agreeing with this learned author. The danger of touching the preſs is the difficulty of marking its limits. My learned friend, who has juſt gone out of court, has drawn no line, and unfolded no principle. He has not told us, if this book is condemned, what book may be written. If I may not write againſt the exiſtence of monarchy, and recommend a republic, may I write againſt any part of the government? May I ſay that we ſhould be better without a Houſe of Lords, or a Houſe of Commons, or a Court of Chancery, or any other given part of our eſtabliſhment? Or if, as has been hinted, a work may become libellous for ſtating even legal matter with ſarcaſtic phraſe, the difficulty becomes the greater, and the liberty of the preſs more impoſſible to define.

The ſame author purſuing the ſubject, and ſpeaking of the fall of Roman liberty, ſays, " But " this ſort of liberty came ſoon after to be called " licentiouſneſs; for we are told that Auguſtus, " after having eſtabliſhed his empire, reſtored or- " der in Rome, by reſtraining licentiouſneſs. God " forbid we ſhould in this country have order re- " ſtored, or licentiouſneſs reſtrained, at ſo dear a " rate as the people of Rome paid for it to Au- " guſtus.

" Let us conſider, my lords. that arbitrary pow- " er has ſeldom, or never been introduced into " any country at once. It muſt be introduced by " ſlow degrees, and as it were ſtep by ſtep, leſt " the people ſhould ſee its approach. The bar- " riers and fences of the people's liberty, muſt be " plucked one by one, and ſome plauſible preten- " ces muſt be found for removing or hoodwink- " ing, one after another, thoſe centries who are " poſted by the conſtitution of a free country, for " warning the people of their danger. When

" theſe

" theſe preparatory ſteps are once made, the peo-
" ple may then, indeed, with regret, ſee ſlavery
" and arbitrary power making long ſtrides over
" their land; but it will be too late to think of
" preventing or avoiding the impending ruin.

" The ſtage, my lords, and the preſs, are two
" of our out ſentries; if we remove them, if we
" hoodwink them. if we throw them in fetters,
" the enemy may ſurprize us."

Gentlemen, this ſubject was ſtill more lately put in the juſteſt and moſt forcible light, by a noble perſon high in the magiſtracy; and whoſe mind is not at all turned to the introduction of diſorder by improper popular exceſſes: I mean Lord Loughborough, chief juſtice of the court of common pleas. I believe I can anſwer for the correctneſs of my note, which I ſhall follow up with the opinion of another member of the Lord's Houſe of Parliament; the preſent Earl of Stanhope; or rather, I ſhall take Lord Stanhope firſt, as his lordſhip introduces the ſubject by adverting to this argument of Lord Loughborough's. " If," ſays his lordſhip, " our boaſted liberty of the preſs, were to conſiſt " only in the liberty to write in praiſe of the " conſtitution, this is a liberty enjoyed under " many arbitrary governments. I ſuppoſe it would " not be deemed quite an unpardonable offence, " even by the Empreſs of Ruſſia, if any man were " to take into his head to write a panegyric upon " the Ruſſian form of government. Such a liber- " ty as that might therefore properly be termed, " *the Ruſſian liberty of the preſs.* But *the Engliſh li-* " *berty of the preſs*, is of a very different deſcripti- " on; for, by the law of England, it is not pro- " hibited to publiſh ſpeculative works upon the " conſtitution, *whether they contain praiſe or cenſure:*"

Lord Stanhope's defence of the libel-bill.

You ſee therefore, as far as the general princi- ple goes, I am ſupported by the opinion of Lord Stanhope

Stanhope, for otherwiſe the noble lord has written a libel himſelf, by exciting other people to write *whatever they may think*, be it good or evil, of the conſtitution of the country. As to the other high authority, Lord Loughborough, I will read what applies to this ſubject—'Every man' ſaid Lord Loughborough, 'may publiſh at his diſcretion his 'opinions concerning forms and ſyſtems of go-'vernment.

'If they be wiſe and enlightening, the world 'will gain by them; if they be weak and abſurd, 'they will be laughed at and forgotten, and, if 'they be *bona fide*, they cannot be criminal, how-'ever erroneous. On the other hand, the pur-'poſe and the direction may give a different turn 'to writings, whoſe common conſtruction is harm-'leſs, or even meritorious. Suppoſe men, aſ-'ſembled in diſturbance of the peace, to pull down 'mills or turnpikes, or to do any other miſchief, 'and that a miſchievous perſon ſhould diſperſe 'among them, an excitation to the planned 'miſchief known to be both writer and reader, *To 'your tents, O Iſrael!* that publication would be 'criminal. But how criminal? not as a libel, 'not as an abſtract writing, but as an act; and 'the act being the crime, *it muſt be ſtated as an act extrinſic on the record:* for, otherwiſe, a court of 'error could have no juriſdiction, but over the 'natural conſtruction of the writing; nor would 'the defendant have any notice of ſuch matter 'at the trial, without a charge on the record. To 'give the jury cognizance of any matter beyond 'the conſtruction of the writing, the averrment, 'ſhould be in the caſe as I have inſtanced, that 'certain perſons were, as I have deſcribed, aſ-'ſembled; and that the publiſher, intending to 'execute theſe perſons ſo aſſembled, wrote *ſo and 'ſo*. Here the crime is complete, and conſiſts in 'an overt-act of wickedneſs evidenced by a writ-'ing."

In

In anſwer to all theſe authorities, the attorney general may ſay, that, if Mr Paine had written his obſervations with the views of thoſe high perſons and under their circumſtances, he would be protected and acquitted: to which I can only anſwer, that no facts or circumſtances attending his work are either charged or proved; that you have no juriſdiction whatever but over the natural conſtruction of the work before you, and that I am therefore brought without a flaw in the deduction to the paſſages which are the particular ſubject of complaint.

* * * * *

Gentlemen, I am come now to obſerve on the paſſages ſelected by the information; and with regard to the firſt I ſhall diſpoſe of it in a moment.

, All *hereditary* government is in its nature ty
'ranny. An hereditable crown, or an heredita-
'ble throne, or by what other fanciful name ſuch
'things may be called, have no other ſignificant
'explination than that mankind, are heredita-
'ble *property*. To inherit a government, is to
'*inherit the people*, as if they were flocks and herds.'

And is it to be endured, ſays the attorney general, that the people of this country are to be told that they are driven like oxen or ſheep? Certainly not. I am of opinion that a more dangerous doctrine cannot be inſtilled into the people of England. But who inſtills ſuch a doctrine? I deny it is inſtilled by Paine. For when he maintains that hereditary monarchy inherits a people like flocks and herds, it is clear from the context (*which is kept out of view*,) that he is combating the propoſition in Mr. Burke's book, which aſſerts, that the hereditary monarchy of England is faſtened upon the people of England by indiſſoluble compact. Mr. Paine, on the contrary, aſſerts the King of England te be the *magiſtrate of the people*, exiſting by their conſent, which is utterly incom-

patable with their being driven like herds His argument, therefore, is this, and it retorts on his adverſary: he ſays, ſuch a king as you repreſent the King of England to be, inheriting the people by virtue of conqueſt, or of ſome compact, which, having once exiſted, cannot be diſſolved while the original terms of it are kept, *is an inheritance like flocks and herds.* But I deny that to be the King of England's title, he is *the magiſtrate of the people*, and that title I reſpect. It is to your own imaginary King of England therefore, and not to his majeſty, that your unfounded innuendos apply. It is the monarchs of Ruſſia and Pruſſia, and all governments faſtened upon unwilling ſubjects by hereditary indefeaſible titles, that are ſtigmatiſed by Paine, as inheriting the people like flocks. The ſentence, therefore, muſt either be taken in the pure abſtract, and then it is not only merely ſpeculative, but the application of it to our own government fails altogether, or it muſt be taken connected with the matter which conſtitutes the application, and then it is Mr. Burke's King of England, and not his majeſty whoſe title is denied.

I paſs therefore to the next paſſage, which appears to be an extraordinary ſelection. It is taken at a leap from page 21, to page 47, and breaks in at the words, "This convention." The ſentence ſelected ſtands thus, "This convention met at phi. "ladelphia in May 1787, of which General Waſh- "ington was elected preſident. He was not at that "time connected with any of the ſtate govern- "ments, or with congreſs. He delivered up his "commiſſion when the war ended, and ſince then "had lived a private citizen.

"The convention went deeply into all the ſub- "jects, and having after a variety of debate and "inveſtigation, agreed among themſelves upon "the ſeveral parts of a federal conſtitution, the "next queſtion was, the manner of giving it au- "thority and practice. "For

" For this purpoſe, they did not like a cabal of " courtiers, ſend for a Dutch ſtadtholder, or a " German elector; but they referred the whole " matter to the ſenſe and intereſt of the country."

The ſentence, ſtanding thus by itſelf, may appear to be a mere ſarcaſm on King William, upon thoſe who effected the revolution; and upon the revolution itſelf, without any reaſoning or deduction: But when the context and ſequel are looked at and compared, it will appear to be a ſerious hiſtorical compariſon between the revolution effected in England in 1688, and the late one in America when ſhe eſtabliſhed her independence; and no man can doubt that his judgment on that compariſon was ſincere. But where is the libel on the conſtitution? For whether King William was brought over here by the ſincereſt and juſteſt motives of the whole people of England, each man acting for himſelf, or through the motives and agencies imputed by the defendant, it ſignifies not one farthing at this time of day to the eſtabliſhment itſelf. Blackſtone warns us not to fix our obedience or affection to the government on the motives of our anceſtors, or the rectitude of their reaſonings, but to be ſatisfied that it is eſtabliſhed. This is ſafe reaſoning, and for my own part, I ſhall not be differently affected to the conſtitution of my country, which my own underſtanding approved, whether angels or demons had given it birth.

Do any of you love the reformation the leſs becauſe Henry the Eighth was the author of it? Or becauſe luſt and poverty, and not religion, were his motives. He had ſquandered the treaſures of his father, and he preferred Anne Bullen to his queen: theſe were the cauſes which produced it. What then! does that affect the purity of our reformed religion, undermine its eſtabliſhment, or ſhake the king's title as prince of the country, to

the excluſion of thoſe who held by the religion it had aboliſhed? Will the attorney general affirm, that I could be convicted of a libel for a whole volume of aſperity againſt Henry the Eighth, merely becauſe he effected the reformation; and if not, why againſt King William, who effected the revolution? Where is the line to be drawn? Is one, two, or three centuries to be ſtatute of limitation. But do not our own hiſtorians detail this very cabal of courtiers, from the records of our own country? If you will turn to Hume's hiſtory, volume the eighth, page 188, &c. &c. you will find that he ſtates at great length, the whole detail of intrigues which paved the way for the revolution and the intereſted coalition of parties which gave it effect.

But what of all this, concerning the motives of parties, which is recorded by Hume. The queſtion is, *what is the thing brought about*,—*Not* HOW it was brought about. If it ſtand as Blackſtone argues it, upon the conſent of our anceſtors, followed up by our own, no individual can withdraw his obedience. If he diſlikes the eſtabliſhment, let him ſeek elſewhere for another; I am not contending for uncontroled *conduct*, but for freedom of *opinion*.

With regard to what has been ſtated of the *Edwards*, and *Henries*. and the other princes under which the author can only diſcover "reſtrictions "on power, but nothing of a conſtitution:" ſurely my friend is not in earneſt when he ſelects that as a libel.

Paine inſiſts, that there was no conſtitution under thoſe princes, and that Engliſh liberty was obtained from uſurped power by the ſtruggles of the people. SO SAY I. And I think it for the honour and advantage of the country that it ſhould be known. Was there any freedom after the original eſtabliſhment of the Normans by conqueſt?

Was

Was not the MAGNA CHARTA wreſted from John by open force of arms at Runnymead? Was it not again re-enacted whilſt menacing arms were in the hands of the people? Were not its ſtipulations broken through, and two and forty times re-enacted by parliament, upon the firm demand of the people in the following reigns? I proteſt it fills me with aſtoniſhment to hear theſe truths brought in queſtion.

I was formerly called upon under the diſcipline of a college to maintain them, and was rewarded for being thought to have ſucceſsfully maintained, that our preſent conſtitution was by no means a remnant of Saxon liberty, nor any other inſtitution of liberty, but the pure conſequence of the oppreſſion of the Norman tenures, which ſpreading the ſpirit of freedom from one end of the kingdom to the other, enabled our brave fathers, inch by inch, not to re-conquer, *but for the firſt time to obtain* thoſe privileges which are the unalienable inheritance of all mankind.

But why do we ſpeak of the Edwards and Henries, when Hume himſelf expreſsly ſays, notwithſtanding all we have heard to-day of the antiquity of our conſtitution, that our monarchy was nearly abſolute till the middle of laſt century. I have his book in court, and will read it to you. It is his eſſay on the liberty of the preſs. Vol. 1. page 15.

'All abſolute governments, and ſuch in great 'meaſure was England, till the middle of the laſt 'century, *notwithſtanding the numerous panegyrics on* 'ANCIENT *Engliſh liberty*, muſt very much depend 'on the adminiſtration.'

This is Hume's opinion; the concluſion of a grave hiſtorian from all that he finds recorded as the materials for hiſtory: and ſhall it be ſaid that Mr. Paine is to be puniſhed for writing to-day what was before written by another, who is now a diſtinguiſhed claſſic in the language? All the

verdicts in the world will not make that palateable to an impartial public, or to posterity,

The next passage arrained is this: P. 56. 'The 'attention of the government of England, (for 'I rather chuse to call it by this name, than the 'English government) appeats, since its political 'connection with Germany, to have been so com-'pletely engrossed and absorbed by foreign affairs, 'and the means of raising taxes, that it seems to 'exist for no other purposes. Domestic concerns 'are neglected; and with respect to regular law, 'there is no such a thing.'

That the government of this country is, in consequence of its connection with the continent, and the continental wars which it has occasioned, been continually loaded with grievous taxes, no man can dispute; and I appeal to your justice, whether this subject has not been, for years together, the constant topic of unreproved declamation and grumbling?

As to what he says with regard to there hardly being such a thing as regular law, he speaks in the abstract of the complexity of our system; but does not arraign the administration of justice *in its practice*. But with regard to criticisms and strictures on the general system, it has been echoed over and over again, by various authors; and even from the pulpits of our country, that the law of the land is mainly defective, devoid of regularity and precision, and overloaded with a variety of expensive and unnecessary forms. I have a sermon in court written during the American war, by a person of great eloquence and piety, part of which I will read to you on this subject, in which he looks forward to an exemption from the intolerable grievances of our old legal system in the infant establishment of the new world.

"It may be in the purposes of providence, on "yon western shores, to raise the bulwark of a pure

" purer reformation than ever Britain patronized ;
" to found a leſs burthenſome, more auſpicious, ſta-
" ble, and incorruptible government than ever Bri-
" tain has enjoyed ; and to eſtabliſh there a ſyſtem
" of law more juſt and ſimple in its principles,
" leſs intricate, dubious and dilatory in its pro-
" ceedings, more mild and equitable in its ſanctio-
" ons, more eaſy and more certain in its execution ;
" wherein no man can err throngh ignorance of
" what concerns him, or want juſtice through
" poverty or weakneſs, or eſcape it by legal arti-
" fice, or civil privileges, or interpoſing power ;
" wherein the rule of conduct ſhall not be hidden
" or diſguiſed in the language of principles and
" cuſtoms that died with the barbariſm which
" gave them birth ; wherein haſty formulas ſhall
" not diſſipate the reverence that is due to the
" tribunals and tranſactions of juſtice ; wherein
" obſolete preſcripts ſhall not pervert, nor entan-
" gle, nor impede the adminiſtration of it, nor in
" any inſtance expoſe it to deriſion or to diſregard ;
" wherein miſrepreſentation ſhall have no ſhare
" in deſiding upon right and truth ; and under
" which no man ſh ll grow great by the wages of
" chicanery, or thrive by the quarrels that are
" ruinous to his employers."

This is ten times ſtron er than Mr. Paine ; but who ever thought of proſecuting Mr. Cappe ?

In various other inſtances you will find defects in our juriſprudence pointed out and lamented, and not ſeldom by perſons called upon by their ſituations to deliver the law in the ſeat of magiſtracy, therefore, the authors *general* obſervation does not appear to be that ſpecies of attack upon the magiſtracy of the country as to fall within the deſcription of a libel.

With reſpect to the two houſes of parliament, I believe I ſhall be able to ſhew you that the very perſon who introduced this controverſy, and who certainly

certainly is conſidered by thoſe who now adminiſter the government, as a man uſefully devoted to maintain the conſtitution of the country in the preſent criſis, has himſelf made remarks upon theſe aſſemblies; that upon compariſon you will think more ſevere than thoſe which are the ſubject of the attorney general's animadverſion. The paſſage in Mr. Paine runs thus.

'With reſpect to the *two houſes*, of which the 'Engliſh Parliament is compoſed, they appear to 'be effectually influenced into one, and, as a le'giſlature, to have no temper of its own. The 'miniſter, who ever he at any time may be, touches 'it as with an opium wand, and it ſleeps obedi'dence.

'But if we look at the diſtinct abilities of the 'two houſes, the difference will appear ſo great, 'as to ſhew the inconſiſtency of placing power 'where there can be no certainty of the judgment 'to uſe it. Wretched as the ſtate of repreſentation 'is in England, it is manhood compared with 'what is called the Houſe of Lords; and ſo little 'is this nick-named houſe regarded, that the peo'ple ſcarcely enquire at any time what it is doing. 'It appears alſo to be moſt under influence, and 'the furtheſt removed from the general intereſt 'of the nation.'

The concluſion of the ſentence, and which was meant by Paine as the evidence of the previous aſſertion, the attorney general has omitted in the information, and in his ſpeech, it is this: 'In the 'debate on engaging in the Ruſſian and Turkiſh 'war, the majority in the Houſe of Peers in favour 'of it, was upwards of ninety, when in the other 'houſe, which is more than double its numbers, 'the majority was ſixty three.'

The terms, however, in which Mr. Burke ſpeaks of the Houſe of Lords, are ſtill more expreſſive. "It is ſomething more than a century ago, ſince

"we

" we voted the Houſe of Lords uſeleſs. They " have now voted themſelves ſo, and the whole " hope of reformation" (*ſpeaking of the Houſe of Commons* " is caſt upon us." This ſentiment, Mr. Burke not only expreſſed in his place in parliament, where no man can call him to an account; but it has been ſince, repeatedly printed amongſt his other valuable works. And his opinion of BOTH THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, which I am about to read to you, was originally publiſhed as a pamphlet, and applied to the ſettled abuſes of theſe high aſſemblies. Remember, I do not uſe them as *argumenta ad hominem*, or *ad invidiam* againſt the author, for if I did, it could be no defence of Mr. Paine. But I uſe them as high authority, the work [*Mr. Burke's thoughts on the cauſe of the preſent diſcontent, publiſhed in* 1775] having been the juſt foundation of ſubſtantial and laſting reputation. Would to God that any part of it were capable of being denied or doubted.

' Againſt the being of parliament, I am ſatisfied ' no deſigns have ever been entertained ſince the ' revolution. Every one muſt perceive that it ' is ſtrongly the intereſt of the court to have ſome ' ſecond cauſe interpoſed between the miniſters ' and the people. The gentlemen of the Houſe ' of Commons have an intereſt equally ſtrong, in ' ſuſtaining the part of that intermediate cauſe. ' However they may hire out the *uſufruct* of their ' voices, they never will part with the *fee* and *in-* ' *heritance*. Accordingly thoſe who have been of ' the moſt known devotion to the will and plea- ' ſure of a court, have at the ſame time been moſt ' forward in aſſerting an high authority in the ' Houſe of Commons. *When they knew who were to* ' *uſe that authority, and how it was to be employed,* ' *they thought it never could be carried to far.* It muſt ' be always the wiſh of an unconſtitutional ſtateſ- ' man, that an Houſe of Commons, *who are entirely*

' *dependant*

'*dependant upon him, ſhould have every right of the people dependant on their pleaſure.* FOR IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT THE FORMS OF A FREE AND THE ENDS OF AN ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT, WERE THINGS NOT ALTOGETHER INCOMPATABLE.

'The power of the crown almoſt dead and rotten as prerogative, has grown up a new, with much more ſtrength, and far leſs odium, under the name of *influence*. An influence which operates without noiſe and violence; which converts the very antagoniſt into the inſtrument of power; which contains in itſelf a perpetual principle of growth and renovation; and which the diſtreſſes and the proſperity of the country equally tend to augment, was an admirable ſubſtitute for a prerogative, that being only the offſpring of antiquated prejudices, had moulded in its original ſtamina irreſiſtable principles of decay and diſſolution. The ignorance of the people is a bottom but for a temporary ſyſtem; but the intereſt of active men in the ſtate is a foundation perpetual and infallible.'

Mr. Burke therefore, in page 66, ſpeaking of the ſame court party, ſays:

'Parliament was indeed the great object of all theſe politics, the end at which they aimed, as well as the INSTRUMENT by which they were to operate.'

And purſuing the ſubject in page 70, proceeds as follows:

'They who will not confirm their conduct to the public good, and cannot ſupport it by the prerogative of the crown, have adopted a new plan. They have totally abandoned the ſhattered and old faſhioned fortreſs of prerogative, and made a lodgment in the ſtrong hold of parliament itſelf. If they have any evil deſign to which there is no ordinary legal power commenſurate,

'ſurate, they bring it into parliament. *There the whole is executed from the beginning to the end. And the power of obtaining their object abſolute; and the ſafety in the proceeding perfect; no rules to confine nor after reckonings to terrify,* For parliament cannot with any propriety puniſh others for things in which they themſelves have been ACCOMPLICES.

'Thus its controul upon the executory power is loſt; becauſe it is made to partake in every conſiderable act of government, *and impeachment, that great guardian of the purity of the conſtitution, is in danger of being loſt even to the idea of it.*

'Until this time, the opinion of the people, through the power of an aſſembly; ſtill in ſome ſort popular, led to the greateſt honours and emoluments in the gift of the crown. Now the principle is reverſed; and the favour of the court is the only ſure way of obtaining and holding thoſe honours which ought to be IN THE DISPOSAL OF THE PEOPLE.'

Mr. Burke, in page 100, obſerves with great truth, that the miſchiefs he complained of, did not at all ariſe from the monarchy, but from the parliament, and that it was the duty of the people to look to it. He ſays, 'The diſtempers of monarchy were the great ſubjects of apprehenſion and redreſs, in the *laſt century*; *in this*, the diſtempers of parliament.'

Not the diſtempers of parliament in this year or the laſt, but in *this century*, i. e. its ſettled habitual diſtemper. 'It is not in parliament alone that the remedy for parliamentary diſorders can be completed; and hardly indeed can it begin there. Until a confidence in government is re-eſtabliſhed, the people ought to be *excited* to a more ſtrict and detailed attention to the conduct of their repreſentatives. Standards for judging more ſyſtematically upon their conduct, ought to be ſet-

'tled

'tled in the meetings of counties and corporations; 'and frequent and correct lists of the voters in all 'important questions ought to be procured.

'By such means something may be done, since 'it may appear who those are, that by an indiscriminate support of all administrations, have totally banished all integrity and confidence out 'of public proceedings; have confounded the 'best men with the worst; and weakened and dissolved, instead of strengthening and compacting 'the general frame of government.'

I wish it was possible to read the whole of this most important volume—but the consequences of these truths contained in it were all eloquently summed up by the author in his speech upon the reform of the household.

'But what I confess was uppermost with me, 'what I bent the whole course of my mind to, 'was the reduction of that *corrupt influence* which 'is itself the perennial spring of all prodigality 'and disorder; which load us more than millions 'of debt; which takes away vigour from our arms, 'wisdom from our councils, and every shadow of 'authority and credit from the most venerable 'parts of our constitution.'

The same important truths were held out to the whole public, upon a still later occasion, by the person now at the head of his majesty's councils; and so high (as it appears) in the confidence of the nation. *He*, not in the abstract like the author before you, but upon the spur of the occasion, and in the teeth of what had been just declared in the House of Commons, came to, and acted upon resolutions which are contained in this book. (*Mr. Erskine took up a book.*) Resolutions pointed to the purification of a parliament, dangerously corrupted into the very state described by Mr. Paine. Remember here too, that I impute no censure to Mr, Pitt. It was the most brilliant passage in his

life

life, and I ſhould have thought his life a better one, if he had continued uniform in the ſupport of opinions, which it is ſaid he has not changed, and which certainly have had nothing to change them. But at all events, I have a right to make uſe of the authority of his ſplended talents and ſituation, not merely to protect the defendant, but the public, and to reſiſt the precedent, that one man may do in England with approbation and glory, what ſhall conduct another man to a pillory or a priſon.

It was the abuſes pointed out by the man before you, that led that right honourable gentleman to aſſociate with many others of high rank, under the banners of the Duke of Richmond, whoſe name ſtands at the head of the liſt, and to paſs various public reſolutions, concerning the abſolute neceſſity of purifying the Houſe of Commons; and we collect the plan from a preamble entered in the book. 'Whereas the life, liberty and property 'of every man is or may be affected by the law of 'the land in which he lives, and every man is 'bound to pay obedience to the ſame.

'And whereas, by the conſtitution of this king-'dom, the right of making laws is veſted in three 'eſtates, of king, lords, and commons, in parlia-'ment aſſembled, and the conſent of all the three 'ſaid eſtates, comprehending the whole commu-'nity, is neceſſary to make laws to bind the whole 'community. And whereas the Houſe of Com-'mons repreſents all the commons of the realm, 'and the conſent of the Houſe of Commons binds 'the conſent of all the commons of the realm, and 'in all caſes on which the legiſlature is competent 'to decide.

'And whereas no man is, or can be actually 'repreſented who hath not a vote in the election 'of his repreſentative.

'And whereas it is the right of every commoner

'of this realm (infants, perſons of inſane mind, 'and criminals incapacitated by law, only except- 'ed) to have a vote in the election of the repre- 'ſentative, who is to give his conſent to the mak- 'ing of laws by which he is to be bound.

'And whereas the number of perſons who are 'ſuffered to vote for electing the members of the 'Houſe of Commons, do not at this time a- 'mount to one ſixth part of the whole commons 'of this realm, whereby far the greater part of the 'ſaid commons are deprived of their right to elect 'their repreſentatives; and the conſent of the ma- 'jority of the whole community to the paſſing of 'laws, is given by perſons whom they have not 'delegated for ſuch purpoſes; and the majority of 'the ſaid community, and to which the ſaid ma- 'jority have not in fact conſented by themſelves 'or by their repreſentatives.

'And whereas the ſtate of election of members 'of the Houſe of Commons, hath in proceſs of 'time ſo groſsly deviated from its ſimple and na- 'tural principle of repreſentation and equality, 'and that in ſeveral places, the members are re- 'turned by the property of one man; that the 'ſmalleſt boroughs ſend as many members as the 'largeſt counties, and that a majority of the re- 'preſentatives of the whole nation are choſen by 'a number of votes not exceeding twelve thouſ- 'and.'

Theſe with many others, were publiſhed, not as abſtract, ſpeculative writings, but within a few days after the Houſe of Commons had declared that no ſuch rights exiſted, and that no alteration was neceſſary in the repreſentation. It was then that they met at the thatched-houſe, and pnbliſhed their opinions and reſolutions to the country at large.——Were any of them proſecuted for theſe proceedings? Certainly not, (for they were legal proceedings.) But I deſire you as men of honour and

and truth, to compare all this with Mr. Paine's expreſſion of miniſter's touching parliament with his opiate wand, and let equal juſtice be done—that is all I aſk—LET ALL BE PUNISHED, OR NONE—— do not let Mr. Paine be held out to the contempt of the public, upon the ſcore of his obſervations on parliament, while others are enjoying all the ſweets which attend a ſuppoſed attachment to their country, who have ſaid the ſame things, and reduced their opinions to practice.

But now every man is to be cried down for ſuch opinions. I obſerved that my learned friend ſignificantly raiſed his voice in naming Mr. Horne Tooke, as if to connect him with Paine, or Paine with him. This is exactly the ſame courſe of juſtice; for after all he ſaid nothing of Mr. Tooke. What could he have ſaid, but that he was a ſubſcriber with the great names, I have read in theſe proceedings which they have thought fit to deſert.

Gentlemen, let others hold their opinions and change them at their pleaſure; I ſhall ever maintain it to be the deareſt privilege of the people of Great Britain to watch over every thing that affects their good government, either in the ſyſtem, or in the practice; and that for this purpoſe the preſs muſt be free. It has always been ſo, and much evil has been corrected by it.——If government finds itſelf annoyed by it, let it examine its own conduct, and it will find the cauſe,—let it amend it, and it will find the remedy.

Gentlemen, I am no friend to ſarcaſms in the diſcuſſion of grave ſubjects, but you muſt take writers according to the view of the mind at the moment; Mr. Burke as often as any body indulges it;—hear his reaſon in his ſpeech on reform, for not taking away the ſalaries from lords who attend upon the Britiſh court. "You would," ſaid he, "have the court deſerted by all the nobility of the "kingdom.

"Sir, the moſt ſerious miſchiefs would follow "from ſuch a deſertion. Kings are naturally "lovers of low company; they are ſo elevated "above all the reſt of mankind, that they muſt "look upon all the ſubjects as on a level; they are "rather apt to hate than to love their nobility, on "account of the occaſional reſiſtance to their will, "which will be made by their virtue, their petu-"lance, or their pride. It muſt indeed be admit-"ed, that many of the nobility are as perfectly "willing to act the part of flatterers, tale-bearers, "paraſites, pimps, and buffoons, as any of the "loweſt and vileſt of mankind can poſſibly be. "But they are not properly qualified for this ob-"ject of their ambition. The want of a regular "education, and early habits, with ſome lurking "remains of their dignity, will never permit them "to become a match for an Italian eunuch, a "mountebank, a fidler, a player, or any regular "practitioner of that tribe. The Roman Empe-"rors, almoſt from the beginning, threw them-"ſelves into ſuch hands; and the miſchief in-"creaſed every day, till its decline, and its final "ruin. It is, therefore, of very great importance "(provided the thing is not overdone,) to con-"trive ſuch an eſtabliſhent as muſt, almoſt whe-"ther a prince will or not, bring into daily and "hourly offices about his perſon, a great number "of his firſt nobility; and it is rather an uſeful pre-"judice that gives them a pride in ſuch a ſervi-"tude: though they are not much the better for a "court, a court will be much the better for them. "I have, therefore, not attempted to reform any "of the offices of honour about the king's perſon."

What is this, but ſaying that a king is an animal ſo incurably addicted to low company, as generally to bring on by it the ruin of nations; but nevertheleſs, he is to be kept as a neceſſary evil, and his propenſities bridled by ſurrounding him with

with a parcel of miſcreants ſtill worſe if poſſible, but better than thoſe he would chooſe for himſelf. This therefore, if taken by itſelf, would be a moſt abominable and libellous ſarcaſm on kings and nobility: but look at the whole ſpeech, and you obſerve a great ſyſtem of regulation; and no man, I believe, ever doubted Mr. Burke's attachment to monarchy. To judge, therefore, of any part of a writing, the whole muſt be read.

With the ſame view, I mean to read to you, the beginning of Harrington's Oceana: but it is impoſſible to name this well known author without expoſing to juſt contempt and ridicule, the ignorant or profligate miſrepreſentations which are vomited forth upon the public, to bear down every man as deſperately wicked, who in any age or country has countenanced a republic, for the mean purpoſe of prejudging this trial.

Is this the way to ſupport the Engliſh conſtitution? Are theſe the means by which Engliſhmen are to be taught to cheriſh it? I ſay, if the man upon trial were ſtained with blood inſtead of ink, if he were covered over with crimes which human nature would ſtart at the naming of, the means employed againſt him would not be the leſs diſgraceful.

For this notable purpoſe then, Harrington not above a week ago, was handed out to us as a low, obſcure wretch, involved in the murder of the monarch, and the deſtruction of the monarchy, and as addreſſing his deſpicable works at the ſhrine of an uſurper. Yet this very Harrington, this low blackguard, was deſcended (you may ſee his pedigree at the Herald's-office for ſixpence,) from eight dukes, three marquiſſes, ſeventy earls, twenty-ſeven viſcounts, and thirty-ſix barons, ſixteen of whom were knights of the garter; a deſcent which I think would ſave a man from diſgrace in any of the circles of Germany. But what was he

beſides?——A BLOOD-STAINED RUFFIAN? Oh! brutal ignorance of the hiſtory of the country. He was the moſt affectionate ſervant of Charles the Firſt, from whom he never concealed his opinions; for it is obſerved by Wood, that the king greatly affected his company; but when they happened to talk of a common-wealth, he would ſcarce endure it.——'I know not,' ſays Toland, 'which 'moſt to commend; the king for truſting an ho-'neſt man, though a republican; or Harrington 'for owning his principles while he ſerved a king.'

But did his opinions affect his conduct? Let hiſtory again anſwer.——He preſerved his fidelity to his unhappy prince to the very laſt, after all his fawning courtiers had left him to his enraged ſubjects. He ſtaid with him while a priſoner in the Iſle of Wight, came up by ſtealth to follow the fortunes of his monarch and maſter; even hid himſelf in the boot of the coach when he was conveyed to Windſor; and ending as he began, fell into his arms and fainted on the ſcaffold.

After Charles's death, the Oceana was written, and, as if it were written from juſtice and affection to his memory: for it breathes the ſame noble and ſpirited regard, and aſſerts that it was not Charles that brought on the deſtruction of the monarchy, but the feeble and ill-conſtituted nature of monarchy itſelf.

But the book was a flattery to Cromwell.—Once more and finally let hiſtory decide.

It was ſeized by the uſurper as a libel, and the way it was recovered was remarkable. I mention it to ſhew that Cromwell was a wiſe man in himſelf, and knew on what government muſt ſtand for their ſupport.

Harrington waited on his daughter to beg for his book, and on entering her apartment, ſnatched up her child and ran away.—On her following him with ſurprize an terror, he turned to her and ſaid

"I know

" I know what you feel as a mother, feel then " for me; your father has got my child:" meaning the oceana. The Oceana was afterwards reſtored on her petition; Cromwell anſwering with the ſagacity of a ſound politician, " Let him have " his book; if my government is made to ſtand, it " has nothing to fear from PAPER SHOT."—He " ſaid true.—No good government will ever " be battered with paper ſhot. Monteſquieu " ſays that In a free nation, it matters not whe- " ther individuals reaſon well or ill; it is ſuf- " ficient that they do reaſon. Truth ariſes from " the colliſion, and from hence ſprings liberty, " which is a ſecurity from the effect of reaſoning." The attorney general read extracts from Mr. Adams's Anſwer to this book. Let others do like Mr. Adams: I am not inſiſting upon the infallibility of Mr. Paine's doctrines: if they are erroneous, let them be anſwered, and truth will ſpring from the colliſion.

A diſpoſition in a nation to this ſpecies of controverſy, is no proof of ſedition or degeneracy, but quite the reverſe, as is mentioned by Milton, [I omitted to cite the paſſage with the others] who in ſpeaking of this ſubject, riſes into that inexpreſſible ſublime ſtile of writing, wholly peculiar to himſelf. He was indeed no plagiary from any thing human: he looked up for light and expreſſion, as he himſelf wonderfully deſcribes it, by devout prayer to that great being, who is the ſource of all utterance and knowledge; and who ſendeth out his ſeraphim with the hallowed fire of his altars, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleaſes. ' When the chearfulneſs of the people,' ſays this mighty poet, ' is ſo ſprightly up, as that it has not ' only wherewith to guard well its own freedom ' and ſafety, but to ſpare, and to beſtow upon the ' ſolideſt and ſublimeſt points of controverſy and ' new inventions, it betokens us [not degenerated

' nor

'nor drooping to a fatal decay, but caſting off the 'old and wrinkled ſkin of corruption to outlive 'theſe pangs, and wax young again, entering the 'glorious ways of truth and proſperous virtue, deſ-'tined to become great and honourable in theſe 'latter ages. Methinks I ſee in my mind, a noble 'and puiſant nation rouſing herſelf, like a ſtrong 'man after ſleep, and ſhaking her invincible locks: 'methinks I ſee her as an eagle muing her migh-'ty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at 'the full mid-day beam; purging and unſealing 'her long abuſed ſight at the fountain itſelf of 'heavenly radiance; while the whole noiſe of 'timorous and flocking birds, with thoſe alſo that 'love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what 'ſhe means, and in their envious gabble would 'prognoſticate a year of ſects and ſchiſms.'

Gentlemen, what Milton only ſaw in his mighty imagination, I ſee in fact; what he expected, but what never came to paſs, I ſee now fulfilling: methinks I ſee this noble and puiſſant nation, not degenerated and drooping to a fatal decay, but caſting off the wrinkled ſkin of corruption to put on again the vigour of her youth.

And it is, becauſe others, as well as myſelf ſee this, that we have ALL THIS UPROAR;——France and its conſtitution are the mere pretences. It is, becauſe Britons begin to recollect the inheritance of their own conſtitution, left them by their anceſtors: It is, becauſe they are awakened to the corruptions which have fallen upon its moſt valuable parts, that forſooth THE NATION IS IN DANGER OF BEING DESTROYED BY A SINGLE PAMPHLET.

Gentlemen, I have marked the courſe of this alarm: It began with the renovation of thoſe exertions for the public, which the authors of the alarm had themſelves originated and deſerted; and they became louder and louder when they ſaw theſe principles

principles avowed and ſupported by my admirable and excellent friend Mr. Fox; the moſt eminently honeſt and enlightened ſtateſman, that hiſtory brings us acquainted with: a man whom to name is to honour, but whom in attempting adequately to deſcribe, I muſt fly to Mr. Burke, my conſtant refuge when eloquence is neceſſary: a man, who to relieve the ſufferings of the moſt diſtant nation, "put to the hazard, his eaſe, his ſecurity, his in-"tereſt, his power, even his darling popularity, "for the benefit of a people whom he had never "ſeen." How much more than for the inhabitants of his native country; yet this is the man who has been cenſured and diſavowed in the manner we have lately ſeen.

Gentlemen, I have but a few more words to trouble you with; I take my leave of you with declaring, that all this freedom which I have been endeavouring to aſſert, is no more than the freedom which belongs to our inbred conſtitution; I have not aſked to acquit Mr. Paine upon any new lights, or upon any principle but the law, which you are ſworn to adminiſter: My great object has been to inculcate, that wiſdom and policy, which are the parents of the law of Great Britain, forbid this jealous eye over her ſubjects: and that, on the contrary, they cry aloud in the language of the poet, employed by Lord Chatham on the memorable ſubject of America, unfortunately without effect:

"Be to their faults a little blind,
"Be to their virtues, very kind;
"Let all their thoughts be unconfin'd,
"And clap your padlock on their mind."

Engage them by their affections, convince their reaſon, and they will be loyal from the only principle that can make loyalty ſincere, vigorous, or rational, a conviction that it is their trueſt intereſt,

and

and that their form of government is for their common good. Conſtraint is the natural parent of reſiſtance, and a pregnant proof, that reaſon is not on the ſide of thoſe who uſe it. You muſt all remember, gentlemen, Lucian's pleaſant ſtory; Jupiter and a countryman were walking together, converſing with great freedom and familiarity upon the ſubjects of Heaven and earth. The countryman liſtened with attention and acquieſcence, while Jove ſtrove only to convince him; but happening to hint a doubt, Jupiter turned haſtily round, and threatened him with his thunder. "Ah! ha!" ſays the countryman, "now Jupiter, I know "that you are wrong; you are always wrong when "when you ſeek to convince by your thunder."

This is the caſe with me—I can reaſon with the people of England, but I cannot fight againſt the thunder of authority.

Gentlemen, this is my defence for free opinions.

(Mr. Attorney General aroſe immediately to reply to Mr. Erſkine, when Mr. Campbell (the foreman of the jury) ſaid,——My lord, I am authorized by the jury here, to inform the attorney general that a reply is not neceſſary for them, unleſs the attorney general wiſhes to make it, or your lordſhip. ——Mr. Attorney General ſat down, and the jury gave in their verdict,

GUILTY!!!!!!

A LESSON FOR TYRANTS.

Our emperor is a tyrant, fear'd and hated;
I ſcarce remember in his reign one day
Paſs guiltleſs o'er his execrable head:
He thinks the ſun is loſt that ſees not blood;
When none is ſhed we count it holyday.

We,

We, who are moſt in favour, cannot call
This hour our own.

Dryden.

ORIGIN OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC.

THE preſent inhabitants of Swiſſerland are deſcended from the ancient Helvetii, who were ſubdued by Julius Cæſar. They continued long under little better than the nominal dominion of the Houſes of Burgundy and Auſtria, till the beginning of the 14th century, when the ſeverity with which they were treated by the Auſtrian governors, excited a general inſurrection, and gave riſe to what is now called, from the ancient name of the country, the Helvetic confederacy.

This memorable event thus related: Albert, Emperor of Germany, having in vain attempted to compel all the Switzers to ſubmit to the yoke of the Houſe of Auſtria, theſe people were ſo cruelly treated, that they entered into a confederacy, in order to ſupport their ancient rights and privileges. Griſler, the governor of Uri, in order to diſcover the authors of the conſpiracy, ordered that his hat ſhould be fixed on the top of a pole in the market place of Altof, the capital of that province; and all thoſe who paſſed by it were obliged, on pain of death, to pay obeiſance to it, as if to the governor himſelf.

William Tell, a man of influence in his country, diſdaining the mark of viſſalage and ſlavery, refuſed to obey the tyrant's order; upon which the latter cauſed him to be arreſted, and condemned him to ſhoot an apple from the head of his only ſon, who was about five years old. Tell anſwered, that he would rather ſuffer death himſelf, than riſque the ſafety of his ſon. The tyrant declared, that he would hang them both, if he did not inſtantly

ſtantly obey. Thus compelled, Tell reluctantly took his bow, and from the head of his ſon, who was tied to a tree, he ſhot away the apple, to the admiration of all the ſpectators. The governor perceiving that he had a ſecond arrow, demanded what he intended to do with it; aſſuring him at the ſame time of his full pardon, if he would diſcloſe the truth.—'To pierce thy heart,' replied Tell, 'If I had been ſo unfortunate as to kill my ſon.'

Griſler, baſely violating his promiſe, loaded him with chains, and made him embark with him on board a veſſel that was to croſs Lake Uri, in order to confine him in a dungeon in one of his caſtles; but a dreadful tempeſt ariſing, the governor found that Tell's aſſiſtance was neceſſary to ſave himſelf and his crew. He therefore ordered his fetters to be taken off; and Tell, having ſteered the veſſel with ſafety towards a landing place, with which he was well acquainted, threw himſelf into the water with his bow, and fled to the mountain. He there waited in a place that Griſler was obliged to paſs, and ſhot him in the heart with his remaining arrow. The brave Switzer then haſtened to announce the death of the tyrant, and their conſequent deliverance, to the confederates; and putting himſelf at the head of a multitude of his gallant countrymen, he took all the fortreſſes, and made the governors priſoners.

Such is the celebrated hiſtory of the commencement of Swiſs liberty, which ſome of the greateſt painters have ſelected as a favourite ſubject. It muſt not be concealed, however that ſome hiſtorians affect to call in queſtion, the circumſtance of the apple; while others, on the contrary, have implicitly received it.

But, not to inveſtigate this ſubject further, all hiſtorians are agreed, that William Tell was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed authors of this glorious revolution

revolution; Griſler was unqueſtionably killed by him with an arrow. He entered into an aſſociation with Werner Stouffacher. Walter Furſt, and Arnold de Melctal, whoſe father had been deprived of his ſight by the inhuman monſter. The plan of this revolution was formed on the 14th of November, 1307. The Emperor Albert, who would have treated theſe illuſtrious men as rebels, was prevented by his death. The Archduke Leopold marched into their country with an army of 20,000 men.

With a force, not exceeding 500, the brave Switzers waited for the main body of the Auſtrian army in the defiles of Morgate. More fortunate than Leonidas and his Lacedemonians, they put the invaders to flight, by rolling down great ſtones from the tops of the mountains. Other bodies of the Auſtrian army were defeated at the ſame time, by a number of Switzers equally ſmall. This victory having been gained in the Canton of Schweitz, the other two Cantons gave this name to the confederacy, into which by degrees other Cantons entered.

Berne, which is to Switzerland what Amſterdam is to Holland, did not accede to this alliance till the year 1352; and it was not till 1513, that the ſmall diſtrict of Appenzel united to the other cantons, and completed the number of thirteen. No people ever fought longer, nor better for their liberty. They gained more than 60 combats againſt the Auſtrians, and it is believed, will long preſerve their independence. A country, which is not too extenſive, nor too opulent, and where the laws breathe a ſpirit of mildneſs, muſt neceſſarily be free.

This revolution in the government, produced another in the aſpect of the country. A barren ſoil, neglected under the dominion of tyrants, became at length the ſcene of cultivation. Vine-

yards were planted on rocky mountains, and ſavage tracts, cleared and tilled by the hands of freemen, became the fertile abode of peace and plenty.

The Thirteen Cantons, as they now ſtand in point of precedency, are—

1. Zurick
2. Berne
3. Lucerne
4. Ury
5. Schweitz
6. Underwalden
7. Zug
8. Glacis
9. Baſil
10. Fribourg
11. Soleure
12. Schaffhauſen and
13. Appenzel

The conteſt between the Helvetic ſtates and the Houſe of Auſtria, laſted for no leſs a period than three hundred and fifty years! It ended in the acknowledged independence of the former.

The people not turbulent, unleſs ſeduced or oppreſſed: Slow to reſiſt oppreſſors: Sometimes mild, even in their juſt vengeance: Brave in defence of their liberties.

(From Gordon's diſcourſe on Tacitus.)

'TIS owing to the arts and induſtry of Seducers, that the people are ſometimes uneaſy and diſcontent under a good government; for under ſuch a government they are naturally inclined to be quiet and ſubmiſſive, and it muſt be very ill uſage that will tempt them to throw it off, when they are not firſt notoriouſly miſled. There were inſurrections againſt Guſtavus Ericſon, ſo there were againſt Queen Elizabeth; all animated by the ſame ſpirit, ſuperſtition managed and inflamed by prieſts. But when a juſt adminiſtration is once ſettled, and become familiar to the people, and where no violent innovations are attempted, they will

will not be apt to diſturb it, nor to wiſh ill to it. They are in truth very ſlow to reſiſt, and often bear a thouſand hardſhips before they return one. The Romans long ſuffered the encroachments, inſults and tyranny of the laſt tarquin, before they drove him out, nor would they have done it ſo ſoon, but for the rape and tragical fate of Lucretia. The Dutch endured the tyranny of Spain, till that tyranny grew intolerable. When King Philip had wantonly violated his ſolemn oath, deſtroyed their ancient liberties and laws, ſhed their blood, acted like an implacable enemy, and uſed them like dogs, it was high time to convince him that they were men, and would continue free men in ſpite of his wicked attempts to enſlave them. They did ſo to ſome purpoſe, to their own immortal glory, and eſtabliſhment in perfect independency, to his infinite loſs and laſting ſhame.

The people of Swiſſerland groaned long under the heavy yoke of Auſtria, ſuſtained a courſe of ſufferings and indignities too many and too great for human patience. So inſolent and barbarous were their governors, ſo tame and ſubmiſſive the governed. At laſt they rouſed themſelves, or rather their oppreſſive governors rouſed them, ſo as not to be quelled. Yet they carried their vengeance no farther than was barely neceſſary for their future ſecurity. They ſpilt little or none of the blood of their tyrants and taſk-maſters, the rulers from Auſtria, who had ſo freely ſpilled theirs. They only conducted theſe lawleſs ſpoilers to the borders of the country, and there diſmiſſed them in ſafety, under an oath never more to return into their territories. What could be more ſlow to reſiſt, what more meek in their reſiſtance than that brave and abuſed people? They were indeed ſo brave and had been ſo abuſed, as to reſolve never more to ſubmit to the imperial power. Thence forth they aſſerted their native freedom, and aſ-

ſerted

ſeited it with amazing valour. With handfuls of men they overthrew mighty hoſts, and could never be conquered by all the neighbouring powers. Their exploits againſt the imperial armies, againſt thoſe of Lewis the Eleventh, then Dauphin, againſt Charles the bold, Duke of Burgundy are ſcarce credible. Three hundred and fifty Swiſs routed at one time, eight thouſand Auſtrians, ſome ſay ſixteen thouſand. An hundred and thirteen vanquiſhed, the arch-duke Leopald's army of twenty thouſand, and killed a great number; an hundred and ſixteen beat another army of near twenty thouſand, and ſlew him.

It was no ſmall provocation, no caſual miſtakes, or random ſallies of paſſion in their rulers, that drove the Dutch and Swiſs to expel theirs. No; the oppreſſion, the acts of violence were general, conſtant, deliberate and encreaſing. For ſuch is the nature of men in power; that they will rather commit two errors than retract one, as Lord Clarendon juſtly obſerves. Sometimes they will commit a ſecond, to ſhew that they are not aſhamed of the firſt, but reſolved to defy reſentment, to declare their contempt of the people, and how much they are above fear and amendment. Some of them have delighted to heighten cruelty by mirth and deriſion, like him in Swiſſerland, who having long inſulted and abuſed the poor people, and ſtill thinking their ſervitude imperfect, ſet up his cap in the market place, and obliged all that paſſed by to pay it reverence; nay to puniſh one for failing in duty to that cap, he cauſed him to place an apple upon his ſon's head, and at ſuch a diſtance to cleave it with an arrow. Was there not cauſe, was it not high time to exterminate ſuch inſtruments of cruelty?

An Epiſtle from a Swiſs Officer, to his Friend at Rome.

(From Dodſley's Poems.)

FROM horrid mountains ever hid in ſnow,
And barren lands, and dreary plains below;
To you, dear ſir, my beſt regards I ſend,
The weakeſt reaſoner, as the trueſt friend.
Your arguments, that vainly ſtrive to pleaſe,
Your arts, your country, and your palaces;
What ſigns of Roman grandeur yet remain—
Much you have ſaid; and much have ſaid in vain.
Fine pageants theſe for ſlaves, to pleaſe the eye;
And put the neateſt dreſs on miſery.

Bred up to ſlav'ry and diſſembled pain,
Unhappy man! you trifle with your chain:
But ſhould your friend with your deſires comply,
And ſell himſelf to Rome and ſlavery;
He could not wear his trammels with that art,
Or hide the noble anquiſh of his heart:
You'd ſoon repent the liv'ry that you gave,
For, truſt me, I ſhould make an awkward ſlave.

Falſely you blame our barren rocks and plains,
Happy in freedom and laborious ſwains;
Our Peaſants chearful to the field repair,
And can enjoy the labours of the year;
Whilſt yours, beneath ſome tree with mournful eyes,
Sees for his haughty lord his harveſt riſe:
Then ſilent ſighs; but ſtops his ſlaviſh breath;
He ſilent ſighs; for ſhould he ſpeak, 'tis death.
Hence from our field, the lazy grain we call,
Too much for want, for luxury too ſmall:
Whilſt all compania's rich inviting ſoil
Scarce knows the plowſhare, or the reaper's toil.

In arms we breed our youth. To dart from far,
And aim aright the thunder of the war;
To whirl the faulchion, and direct the blow;
To ward the ſtroke, or bear upon the foe.

Early

Early in hardſhips, thro' the woods they fly,
Nor feel the piercing froſt, or wintry ſky;
Some prowling wolf or foamy boar to meet,
And ſtretch the panting ſavage at their feet;
Inur'd by this, they ſeek a nobler war,
And ſhew an honeſt pride in ev'ry ſcar;
With joy the danger and the blood partake,
Whilſt ev'ry wound is for their country's ſake.
But, you, ſoft warriers, forc'd into the field,
Or faintly ſtrike, or impotently yield;
For well this univerſal truth you know,
Who fights for tyrants, is his country's foe.

I envy not your arts, the Roman ſchools,
Improv'd perhaps, but to enſlave your ſouls.
May you to ſtone, or nerves or beauty give,
And teach the ſoft'ning marble how to live;
May you the paſſions in your colours trace,
And work up ev'ry piece with ev'ry grace;
In airs and attitudes be wond'rous wiſe,
And know the arts to pleaſe, or to ſurprize;
In muſic's ſofteſt ſounds conſume the day,
Sounds that would melt the warrior's ſoul away;
Vain efforts theſe, an honeſt fame to raiſe;
Your painters, and your eunuchs, be your praiſe;
Grant us more real goods, you heav'nly powers!
Virtue, and arms, and liberty be ours.

Weak are your offers to the free and brave:
No bribe can purchaſe me to be your ſlave.
Hear me, ye rocks, ye mountains, and ye plains,
The happy bounds of brave Helvetian ſwains!
In thee, my country, will I fix my ſeat;
Nor envy the poor wretch, that would be great:
My life and arms I dedicate to thee;—
For, know, it is my int'reſt to be free.

BEWARE OF ORATORS!

From Littleton.

WHEN once it becomes a faſhion to advance men to dignity and power, not for the good councils

councils that they give, but for an agreeable manner of recommending bad ones; it is impoſſible that a government ſo adminiſtered can long ſubſiſt. Is any thing complained of as amiſs?—inſtead of redreſs, they give you an oration. Have you compoſed a good needful law?—in exchange for that you receive an oration. Has your natural reaſon determined you upon any point?—up gets an orator, and ſo *confounds* you, that you are no longer able to reaſon at all. Is any meaſure to be *obſtructed*, or wrong one to be advanced?—there is an orator always ready, and it is moſt *charmingly* performed, to the delight of all the hearers.

THE AMERICANS HAPPY

WITHOUT THE

ASSISTANCE OF *Royal Proclamations.*

A new Song, *By* W. D. Grant.

TUNE—"*Beneath a Cyphreſs Grove.*"

AMERICA, behold! O happy, happy, clime;
Her triumphs will be told, until the end of time!

There liberty is law,
And joy o'erſpreads each cheek,
No more 'tis "*vive le roi!*"
But "*vive la* REPUBLIQUE!

Beneath fair freedom's tree, her ſons obtain repoſe,
Bleſt fruits of liberty! which *deſpots* WOULD oppoſe.

Hereditary fools,
Let *fools* and *rogues* obey;
For none o'er freemen rules,
But LOVE and LIBERTY!

No *titled inſolence*, of virtue makes a prey;
No *royal impotence*, uſurps the *nation's* ſway.

Their

There liberty is law,
And joy o'erſpreads each cheek;
No more 'tis "*vive le roi!*"
But "*vive la* REPUBLIQUE!"

SONNET TO FREEDOM.

BY RICHARD LEE.

Author of the Poems, entitled "*Flowers from Sharon.*"

CELESTIAL FREEDOM, hail! whoſe liberal hand,
The great CREATOR with his bounty fills;
To ſcatter plenty thro' the favour'd land,
That knows thy worth, and courts thy lovely ſmiles.

Where thou art abſent, haggard miſ'ry dwells,
And pining want hangs down her wither'd head;
Induſtry faints, ſlow indolence prevails,
And commerce folds her languid hands half dead.

Come then, dear FREEDOM, come, reſide with me,
And I ſhall ſing, tho' in a lowly cot;
Proud *ſceptr'd tyrants* will unenvied be,
Whilſt I am bleſt with this ſuperior lot.
Content and cheerful I will paſs my days,
And grateful give the GOD OF FREEDOM praiſe.

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